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BYZANTINE ICONOCLASM
DURING THE REIGN OF LEO III

WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE ORIENTAL
SOURCES

BY
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LOUVAIN
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Anyának és Mamának sok hálával és szeretettel

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PREFACE

The immediate causes, ideological orientations, and practical scope of the iconoclastic movement in the Byzantine empire, in the eighth and ninth centuries, are very imperfectly known. Our study is concerned only with the initial phase of this iconoclastic struggle, during the reign of the emperor Leo III (717-741). It is a well-known fact that the literature produced by the iconoclasts is, for the most part, no longer extant; the information provided by the Byzantine chronicles and saints' lives is, of course, highly important, but has to be treated with great caution, on account of the anti-iconoclastic bias which is almost always present. However, much useful, and often unique, material can also be found in less thoroughly exploited Armenian, Georgian, Syriac, and Arabic (Christian and Muslim) sources, which, unlike many of the Byzantine texts, have not been consistently subjected to iconophile bias and censorship. If the present work does indeed contribute to a clearer understanding of the causes and nature of early iconoclasm, to a great extent this will be due to the continuous and direct utilization of the oriental sources. Thus, though the main object of this investigation is a problem of Byzantine history proper, it is offered as a contribution to the wider study of *orientalia christiana*.

The present work is a revised version of my Ph.D. dissertation in Church History at Harvard University, accepted for the degree in the spring of 1972. I am most grateful for the help and advice of the members of the examining committee, namely, Prof. G. H. Williams (thesis supervisor and chairman), Prof. E. Kitzinger, Prof. R. W. Thomson, and Prof. R. L. Wolff. In particular, Prof. Thomson checked my translations from Syriac, Georgian, and Armenian. Prof. G. Makdisi was kind enough to perform a like task for the translation of Arabic passages. The revision was done for the most part during the fall of 1972 while I had the privilege of being a Visiting Fellow at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. Prof. C. Mango and Prof. I. Ševčenko, both of Dumbarton Oaks, read the manuscript and offered many useful suggestions. Prof. I. Shahid of Georgetown University also read parts of the text, with particular attention to the Arabic passages. This work, revised after I have had the benefit of the comments of all the aforementioned scholars, doubtless represents

an improvement over the original version; but I am wholly responsible for whatever errors and deficiencies, whether of presentation or of content, that may remain.

I wish to thank Harvard University and The Canada Council for financial help during my graduate studies, and Dumbarton Oaks for the opportunity to continue my research in Byzantine history during the academic year 1972-73. I would like to express again my thanks to Prof. Williams for his ready help and wise counsel in many matters. I also want to use this occasion to express my deep gratitude to Prof. H. Koester for taking a warm and abiding personal interest in the progress of my studies from the very beginning of my years at Harvard.

Finally, I would like to thank Prof. R. Draguet for kindly accepting this work in the C.S.C.O., and for his helpful comments concerning various matters in the text.

S.G

ABBREVIATIONS

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

NOTE: In editions of individual works, Roman numerals uniformly designate the volume number. When two Arabic numerals are separated by a comma, the first refers to the page or column, the second to the line number. Two page or line numbers, when indicating the limits of a passage, are always separated by a dash. Thus, *Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, 391, 10-392, 5* refers to a passage in the first volume of de Boor's edition of Theophanes, from page 391, line 10 to page 392, line 5.

1. Greek and Latin

NOTE: The Byzantine narrative sources, unless it is otherwise indicated, are cited according to the Bonn edition, the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (*ed. Bonn*). These works do not appear in the following list; neither do the sources cited from Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. (In references to the latter, the volume is indicated by an Arabic numeral, exceptionally; this is followed by the column and section: e.g., PG 102, 551B.)

a. Literary Sources

Evagrius, ed. Bidez-Parmentier = J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (eds.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius* (London, 1898).

Georgius Hamartolus, ed. de Boor = *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1904).

Liber pontificalis, ed. Duchesne = L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis*, T. I (Paris, 1886). Mansi = J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, Vol. XII (Florence, 1766); Vol. XIII (Florence, 1767).

Novθeicia, ed. Melioranskij = Melioranskij, *Georgij i Ioann*, pp. v-xxxix. (For full references, see list of secondary sources.)

Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, ed. de Boor = *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula Historica*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 3-77.

Nicephorus, *Χρονογραφικὸν Εἰκρόμιν*, ed. de Boor = *op. cit.*, pp. 79-135.

Anastasius' Latin version (*Chronographia brevis*) = Theophanes, ed. de Boor, II, pp. 36-59.

(Anonymous) *Εὐαγγελὴ Χρόνων*, ed. de Boor = *Nicephori... Opuscula historica*, ed. de Boor, pp. 218-34.

Anastasius' Latin version (*Collectio annorum*) = Theophanes, ed. de Boor, II, pp. 340-46. *Synax. CP*, ed. Delehaye = *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye (*Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*) (Bruxelles, 1902).

Εὐνοφίης Χρονική, ed. Sathas = K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη, τόμος ζ'* (Paris and Venice, 1894), pp. 1-556.

Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Henry = R. Henry, *Photius, Bibliothèques* (Paris, 1959-.....).

Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.*, ed. Parmentier = L. Parmentier (hrsg.), *Theodoret, Kirchengeschichte*, 2. Aufl. (Berlin, 1954) (GCS Band 44 [19]).

Theodosius of Melitene, ed. Tafel = *Theodosii Meliteni... Chronographia...*, ed. T. L. F. Tafel (München, 1859).

Theophanes, ed. de Boor = *Theophanis Chronographia, recensuit C. de Boor*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1883) (Greek text); Vol. II (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 77-340 (Anastasius' Latin version).

b. Inscriptions

C.I.G. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.

S.I.G. = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Hildesheim, 1960).

M.A.M.A. = *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*.

2. Syriac

Bar Bahlul, ed. Duval = *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule...*, ed. R. Duval (Paris, 1901).

Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan = *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon syriacum* (Paris, 1890).

Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy = *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. J. B. Abbeloos et T. J. Lamy (Paris and Louvain, 1872-77).

Chronicon ad. an. 846, ed. Brooks = *Chronicon ad annum Domini 846 pertinens*, in *Chronica minora, Pars II*, ed. E.-W. Brooks (CSCO, *Scriptores Syri*, Ser. III, Tomus IV) (Paris, 1904), pp. 157-238.

Chronicon ad. an. 1234, ed. Chabot = *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. J.-B. Chabot (CSCO, *Scriptores Syri*, Ser. III, Tomus XIV) (Paris, 1920).

pseudo-Dionysius, ed. Chabot = J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré, Quatrième partie* (Paris, 1895).

Documenta, ed. Chabot = *Documenta ad Origines Monophysitarum illustrandas*, ed. J.-B. Chabot (CSCO, *Scriptores Syri*, Ser. II, Tomus XXXVII) (Louvain, 1933).

Elias of Nisibis, ed. Brooks (parallel Syriac and Arabic texts) = *Elias Metropolitae Nisibeni Opus chronologicum, Pars prior*, ed. E. W. Brooks (CSCO, *Scriptores Syri*, Ser. III, Tomus VII) (Rome, 1910).

John of Ephesus, *Hist. eccl.*, ed. Brooks = *Johannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae Pars tertia*, ed. E. W. Brooks (CSCO, *Scriptores Syri*, Ser. III, Tomus III) (Louvain, 1936).

Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot = J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* (Paris, 1910).

Wright, *Catalogue* = W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1870-72).

3. Arabic

Agapius of Manbij, ed. Vasiliev = *Kitab al-'Unwan, Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, ed. A.-A. Vasiliev, 2. partie (*Patrologia Orientalis* 8, fasc. 3) (Paris, 1912).

Agapius of Manbij, ed. Cheikho = *Agapius Episcopus Mabbugensis, Historia universalis*, ed. L. Cheikho (CSCO, *Scriptores Arabici*, Ser. III, Tomus V) (Beirut and Paris, 1912).

al-Balādhuri, Futūḥ, ed. de Goeje = *Liber Expugnationis Regionum, auctore... al-Balādhuri...*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866).

Būlus al-Antākī, ed. Khoury = P. Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche, Evêque Melkite de Sidon* (XII^e s.) (Beirut, n.d. [1965 ?]).

Eutychius, ed. Cheikho = *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho et al. (CSCO, *Scriptores Arabici*, Ser. III, Tomus VI) (Beirut, 1906), Tomus VII (Beirut, 1909).

Ibn Wāḍih, ed. Houtsma = *Ibn-Wāḍih, qui dicitur al-Ja'qubi, Historiae*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883).

Kitāb al-'Uyūn, ed. de Goeje = *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum, Tomus prius, continens partem tertiam operis Kitābo 'l-Oyun... quem ediderunt M. J. de Goeje et P. de Jong* (Leiden, 1869).

al-Mas'ūdi, Murūj, ed. Barbier-Pavet = Maḡoudi, *Les prairies d'or*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1863).

al-Mas'ūdi, *Kitāb al-tanbih wa-l-isrāf*, ed. de Goeje = *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, Tomus VIII, Kitāb al-Tanbih wa'l-Ischrāf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894; reprint Beirut, 1966).

al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje = *Annales quos scripsit... al-Ṭabarī, cum aliis edidit M. J. de Goeje* (Leiden, 1879-98).

4. Armenian

Kirakos of Ganjak, ed. Melik'-Ohanjanyan = *Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի Պատմութիւն Հայոց ... Կ.Ա.Մէլիք Օհանջանյանի* (Erevan, 1961).

Lewond, ed. St. Petersburg = *Պատմութիւն Ղևոնդեաց Մեծի Վարդապետի Հայոց* ed. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1887).

Moses Kalankatuaci, ed. Tiflis = *Մովսէս Կաղանկատուացի Պատմութիւն Աղուանից Աշխարհի* (Tiflis, 1912).

Stephen Orbélean, ed. Tiflis = *Պատմութիւն Նազանցին Սիսական, արարեալ Ստեփաննոսի Օրբէլեան ... Սիւնեաց* (Tiflis, 1910).

Stephen of Tarōn, ed. St. Petersburg = *Ստեփանոսի Տարօնեցիոց Ասողկան Պատմութիւն Տիեզերական* ed. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1885).

Thomas Araruni, ed. Tiflis = *Թովմայի Արարապետի Արծրունիոց Պատմութիւն Տանն Արծրունեաց* (Tiflis, 1917).

Vardan, ed. Muyltermans = J. Muyltermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie, extrait de l'Histoire Universelle de Vardan* (Louvain and Paris, 1927).

B. SECONDARY LITERATURE

Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre* = R. Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre, Jakobitischer Patriarch von 818-845* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXV, 2) (Leipzig, 1940).

Aḡāryan, *Onomasticon* = *Հ.Աճարյան, Հայոց Անձնանունների Բառարան* (Erevan, 1942....).

Alexander, *Nicephorus* = P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958).

Atlas zur KG = *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*, ed. H. Jedin et al. (Freiburg i. B.; 1970).
Baumstark, *GSL* = A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922).

- Beck, *Ikono-klassmus* = H.-G. Beck, «Die griechische Kirche im Zeitalter des Ikono-klassmus», in *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Band III (*Die mittelalterliche Kirche*), I. Halbband (Freiburg i.B., 1966), pp. 31-61.
- Beck, KTL = H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (München, 1959).
- BHG = *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. F. Halkin, ed. 3 (Bruxelles, 1957).
- Bréhier, *Byzance* = L. Bréhier, *Vie et mort de Byzance* (Paris, 1948).
- Bréhier, *Les institutions* = L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1949).
- Bréhier, *La civilisation* = L. Bréhier, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris, 1950).
- Broekelmann, GAL = C. Broekelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur [sic], zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage* (Leiden, 1943).
- Bury, LRE = J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. 1 (London, 1889); ed. 2 (London, 1923), only covers the period up to the death of Justinian.
- Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica* = L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, fasc. IV, V (Paris, n.d.).
- Ciakciak, *Dizionario* = I. Ciakciak, *Dizionario armeno-italiano* (Venice, 1837).
- Dölger, *Regesten* = F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches, Reihe A, 1. Teil: Regesten von 565-1525* (München and Berlin, 1924).
- Ducange, *Glossarium* = *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis... auctore Carolo Du Fresne, domino Du Cange...* (Lyon, 1688).
- Dvornik, *Political Philosophy* = F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy* (Washington, 1966).
- Friend *Festschrift* = *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert M. Friend Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955).
- Frolow, *Vraie Croix* = A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961).
- Grabar, *L'iconoclasme* = A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin: Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957).
- Graf, GCAL = G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Bd. I (Vatican, 1944), Bd. II (Vatican, 1947).
- Grumel, *Chronologie* = V. Grumel, *La chronologie (Traité d'études byzantines, publié par Paul Lemerle... I)* (Paris, 1958).
- Inglisian, *Die armenische Literatur*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I. Abteilung, 7. Band (*Armenische und kaukasische Sprachen*) (Leiden, 1963), pp. 156-250.
- Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam* = A.-Th. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam: Textes et auteurs (VIII^e-XIII^e s.)* (Louvain and Paris, 1969).
- Krumbacher, GBL = K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, ed. 2 (München, 1897).
- Lampe = G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961).
- Liddell and Scott = H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. 9 (Oxford, 1968).
- Mango, *Brazen House* = C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959).
- Melioranskij, *Georgij i Ioann* = Б. М. Мелиоранский, *Георгій Киприяний и Іоанн Іерусалимський* (St. Petersburg, 1901).
- Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* = J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Washington and Cleveland, 1969).

- Nor Bargirk'* = Նոր բարցիրք Հայկազեան լեզուն (Venice, 1836-37).
- Ostrogorsky, *History* = G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, 1969).
- Ostrogorsky, *Les débuts* = G. Ostrogorsky, «Les débuts de la Querelle des Images», in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, v. 1 (Paris, 1930), pp. 235-55.
- Payne-Smith = R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (London, 1889-1901).
- Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* = J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204 (Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechische Philologie, No. 30, Athens, 1939).*
- Успенский, *Очерки I* = К. Н. Успенский, «Очерки по истории иконоборческого движения в византийской империи в VIII - IX вв. Феофан и его хронография» V V 3 (1950), pp. 393-438.
- Успенский, *Очерки II* = art. cit., continued. V V 4 (1951), pp. 211-262.
- Vasiliev, *Edict* = A. A. Vasiliev, «The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II, A.D. 721», DOP 9/10 (1956), pp. 23-47.
- Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes* = A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes, tome I, La dynastie d'Amorium (820-87)* (Bruxelles, 1935).

C. PERIODICALS

- | | |
|---------|---|
| AB | = <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> |
| BV | = Богословский Вѣстникъ |
| Byz | = Byzantion |
| ByzSlav | = Byzantinoslavica |
| BZ | = Byzantinische Zeitschrift |
| CA | = Cahiers archéologiques |
| CH | = Church History |
| DOP | = Dumbarton Oaks Papers |
| EEBE | = Ἑπετηρίς ἐταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν |
| EO | = Échos d'Orient |
| HA | = Հայկէկս Ամսօրոյի |
| HTR | = The Harvard Theological Review |
| JA | = Journal asiatique |
| JHS | = The Journal of Hellenic Studies |
| OC | = Oriens Christianus |
| OCF | = Orientalia Christiana Periodica |
| PPS | = Православный Палестинский Сборникъ |
| REB | = Revue des études byzantines |
| ROC | = Revue de l'Orient chrétien |
| TM | = Travaux et Mémoires |
| VV | = Византийский Временник |
| ZDMG | = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft |
| ZKG | = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte |

D. COLLECTED SOURCES, ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

AA SS	= <i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
CMH	= <i>The Cambridge Medieval History</i>
CSCO	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CSEL	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
DHGE	= <i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i>
EI	= <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i>
FHG	= <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , ed. C. Mullerus [Müller], ed. 2 (Paris, 1883).
GCS	= <i>Die griechische christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
HO	= <i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
MGH	= <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα	= <i>Α. Παπαδόπουλος - Κεραμείς, 'Ανάλεκτα 'Ιεροσολυμιτικής Σταχυολογίας</i> (St. Petersburg, 1891-98).
PG	= <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
Pitra, <i>Spicilegium</i>	= J. B. Pitra (ed.), <i>Spicilegium Solesmense</i> (Paris, 1852-1858).
PO	= <i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> (volume indicated with Arabic numerals).
P-W	= R. Pauly - G. Wissowa, <i>Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> .
SEI	= <i>Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam</i>
TU	= <i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i>

E. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

A.H.	= Year of the <i>Hijra</i> (used in Arabic and Syriac sources).
A.M.	= <i>Anno Mundi</i> (used by Theophanes).
A.S.	= Seleucid era (used in Syriac sources).
art. cit.	= article cited.
B.M.	= British Museum.
LXX	= Septuagint.
MS, MSS	= manuscript, manuscripts.
MT	= Masoretic text (of the Hebrew Bible).
n.s.	= new series.
NT	= New Testament
OT	= Old Testament.
par	= and parallel passages (used in citations from the synoptic gospels).

INTRODUCTION

It should be emphasized at the outset that this study does not claim to present a panorama of Byzantine history in the eighth century, nor to tell the story of the iconoclastic struggle in a continuous narrative. This work is not an introduction to the history of Byzantine iconoclasm nor is it a study of all the various Byzantine attitudes toward figurative art. Our aim is, rather, the severely limited one of collecting and analyzing in detail all the source material which pertains to Byzantine iconoclasm during the reign of Leo III (714-741), and, then, on the basis of such an analysis, arriving at some judgments concerning the motivations and ideology of the iconoclastic movement in its early phase. The material with which we are concerned here has to be separated rigorously from the much more abundant documentation which appertains only to the later period of iconoclasm, i.e., under Constantine V (741-775), and afterwards. Our study is solely concerned with the actions, background and motivations of the iconoclasts during the first, « Leonine » phase of the struggle. As far as material is concerned about iconoclasm prior to the period in question (i.e., roughly, the first half of the eighth century), a similar selective criterion has to be invoked. Only when such earlier material has direct and immediate relevance to the nascent Byzantine iconoclasm of the 720's and the 730's will it be introduced and utilized. More generally, in the opinion of this writer, only if one focuses one's attention on the early material, uncontaminated, so to speak, by considerations and arguments which emerged later in the history of the movement, and only if one is willing to set aside any extraneous suppositions concerning the reasons for Christian acceptance or rejection of religious art, is it possible to make progress toward understanding the origin and intentions of Byzantine iconoclasm.

In line with the specialized character of much of this work, it is assumed that the reader has some knowledge of the course of events and of the major available documentation. Such information can be readily obtained from general works on Byzantine history.¹ However,

¹ E.g., Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 147-203; Bréhier, *Byzance*, pp. 75-104. Some older specialized works on iconoclasm can also be helpful in providing such a prior orien-

this writer has attempted to make the study otherwise as «readable» as the technical and detailed nature of the material allows. Though, of course, it was not feasible to cite the sources in their entirety, care is always taken to quote at length the passages which are essential to the argument. Citations from primary sources in languages other than Greek or Latin are always accompanied by complete translations; even as far as the Byzantine and Latin material is concerned, important or difficult passages are presented with full translation and commentary.² Also in the interests of «readability», much material has been relegated to footnotes and appendices; it is hoped that the text itself still embodies the essence of our argumentation and findings.

Three types of material have been put in the appendices. Firstly, in the discussion of questions of authenticity and literary dependence, at times it was necessary to present fairly technical arguments which can only be appreciated if the reader can control the original texts. Accordingly, much philological analysis of Armenian, Syriac and Arabic texts, though important, is to be found in the appendix section. However, the results of these excursions are invariably incorporated in the text portion of this study; thus, it is not necessary for the reader to refer directly to these appendices. The second type of material which is put in the appendix section involves documents which, though authentic, are, in this writer's view, relatively less important than those discussed in the main section of the study. The third category of material to be found in the appendices includes texts which prior analysis has indicated to be apocryphal or non-authentic, and thus not part of the «iconoclastic dossier».

tation : e.g., E. J. Martin, *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (London, no date); K. Schwarzlose, *Der Bilderstreit* (Gotha, 1890). H.-G. Beck gives an excellent up-to-date synopsis in the *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. III, 1 (Freiburg, 1966), pp. 31-61. The relevant portion of Theophanes' chronicle is available in a good modern translation by L. Breyer (*Bilderstreit und Arabersturm in Byzanz: Das 8. Jahrhundert (717-813) aus der Welichronik des Theophanes*, ed. 2, (Graz, 1964). Some of the more important primary sources are collected in H. J. Geiseler (hrsg.), *Der byzantinische Bilderstreit* (Gütersloh, 1968), and H. Hennephof, *Textus byzantinos [sic] ad iconomachiam pertinentes...* (Leiden, 1969). See especially the excellent translations of several key texts in C. Mango. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312/1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), pp. 149-177.

² When the material is readily available (as in works cited from the *Patrologia Graeca* or the Bonn corpus of Byzantine historians), it was felt more often permissible to give extracts from or references to the texts, rather than full citations.

It will perhaps be helpful to give here a synopsis of the order in which the material is presented. The principle of arrangement is basically chronological. First, the relevant information about Leo before his accession to the throne is discussed, followed by the pertinent portion of the documentation available for the period 717-726. The latter part of the work deals with the outbreak of iconoclasm in 726 and with the movement in the period from 726 until the death of Leo (741). Thus, the first part of the study analyzes the material appertaining to Leo's origin and his early years (Chapters I through III). Much of this discussion about Leo's obscure youth will perhaps appear to the reader on first sight to be of little relevance; but, in fact, the discussion results in a much-needed clearer understanding of the relation and reliability of some of the chief Byzantine sources for the period. In particular, the source analysis dealing with transmission of the misleading «Isaurian» epithet for Leo (Chapter I) clarifies the relationship of Theophanes' chronicle (perhaps the most important Byzantine source for early iconoclasm) to other chronicles. Chapter II which deals with Leo's supposed original name, Conon, is a continuation of the investigation about Leo's antecedents and reinforces the earlier finding that Leo was indeed a Syrian. In the next section (Chapter II), the ecclesiastical history of Leo's birthplace, the Syrian Germanicia (Mar'aš), is rapidly reviewed; the chronology of Leo's early years is discussed, with a view toward solving the practical question of *how long* was Leo actually exposed to the various heterodox influences in his native North Syria, before migrating to Byzantine territory. In Chapter IV is discussed that part of the material about the great Arab siege of Constantinople in 717 which is of possible significance for understanding Leo's character and motivations. Certain little-known Armenian accounts present Leo as a heroic defender of Christendom and are introduced here; the philological and source-critical problems connected with the Armenian texts are discussed in Appendix 1. (In Appendices 3A and 3B, some other Byzantine and Palestinian texts are presented, which also provide indications for a more favorable contemporary valuation of Leo than the vulgate tradition of the Byzantine chroniclers would lead one to believe.) Chapter V is devoted to the exchange of letters between Leo and the caliph 'Umar II; here, again, oriental sources correct the biased presentation of the Byzantine writers. (The technical problem of the authenticity of two independent documents, one extant in

Latin and the other in Armenian, which purport to provide the actual text of this correspondence, is taken up in Appendix 2.) Chapter VI is devoted to the detailed analysis of the proem to the *Ecloga*, the law-code promulgated by Leo early in 726; though the question of image-worship is not mentioned, the exalted claims of imperial prerogative which are set forth in this preface, and which could well reflect Leo's own thinking, are most significant. In Chapter VII, the various accounts, Byzantine and oriental, that note the caliph Yazid II's iconoclastic measures in Syria, and Leo's supposed imitation thereof, are discussed. Our analysis shows that whereas the oriental accounts are quite reliable, the Byzantine tradition is, for the most part, legendary and tendentious. The reader is spared the most technical part of the analysis of the oriental sources, which is relegated to Appendices 4A and 4B. (Appendix 3C presents a detailed but necessary discussion of the historicity of two enigmatic figures in the Byzantine tradition, namely the patrician Beser and the Jewish magician Tessaracontapechys, who supposedly played a large role in the outbreak of iconoclasm.) The remainder of the work is concerned with actual iconoclasm during Leo's reign. The evidence for the activity of iconoclastic clergy in Asia before 726 is presented and analysed in Chapter VIII, and the possible relevance of this material to Leo and Byzantine iconoclasm proper is discussed. The scanty evidence concerning the scope and course of 'official' iconoclastic measures from 726 onward is presented in the first part of Chapter IX. The ideology of the adherents of the iconoclastic movement in Leo's reign is described, as far as the meager sources allow, in the latter half of Chapter IX and in Chapter X. (Material supplementary to this part of the study is found in Appendices 5A and 5B.) The salient conclusions of the whole study are summarized in Chapter XI.

CHAPTER I

LEO'S ORIGINS

A recent study properly points out that, since there is no evidence for any iconoclastic predisposition in the Byzantine armies, attention must be focused on the imperial authorities, the populace, and the clergy in studying the genesis of the image controversy.¹ No information is, however, available concerning the clergy and the populace in the late seventh and early eighth centuries;² in particular, our ignorance is quite total about the background of those bishops of Asia Minor who emerged as the ecclesiastical spearhead of early iconoclasm in the 720's. By contrast, about the emperor Leo's origins and early career we do possess some evidence which can throw light on his later actions. To the study of Leo's background then we shall turn first.

In dealing with the possible early influences on Leo, the questions of his birthplace, racial origin, and upbringing have to be given some attention. The late Byzantine tradition uniformly designates Leo as

¹ W. E. Kaegi, 'The Byzantine Armies and Iconoclasm', *ByzSlav* 27 (1966), p. 70. Kaegi easily dispels the notion that iconoclasm was imposed on a civilian populace to cater to the prejudices of the Asiatic soldiery. In the early eighth century the Byzantine armies acted according to the customary manner of mercenary troops; their fickle adherence would only be secured by frequent *donativa* and their loyalty, if any, was at most to the local *strategos*. In its 'negative' dossier of anti-image feeling in the army, Kaegi's study (which is admittedly restricted to the eighth and ninth centuries) does overlook the story of the icon stoned by rebellious soldiers, reported by Theophylact Simocatta (*Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1887), p. 111, 11-16). Though the incident took place some hundred and fifty years prior to the outbreak of Byzantine iconoclasm proper, it is significant for two reasons. This episode is the very first example of a large-scale violent outburst against icons, and in an *eastern* setting; also, it presents soldiers (mostly native Syrians?) in an iconoclastic role. But, for this later period, I think Kaegi is entirely right when he concludes that the origin of iconoclastic sentiment is not to be sought in the army. It was only afterwards that Constantine V, with consummate skill and at the cost of several military purges, succeeded in imbuing the troops with the new teachings (Kaegi, *art. cit.*, pp. 56-57).

² The statement in the *Vita* of Saint Stephen of Surož, that the iconoclastic patriarch Anastasius was of Syrian origin is the one exception ch. III, n. 17 (end).

Isaurian, *ὁ Ἰσαυρος*.³ On first sight the earliest mention, and thus the presumable literary source, of this epithet is an entry in Theophanes' chronicle: *Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Λέων ὁ Ἰσαυρος ἔτη κδ'. ... Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Λέων ἐβασίλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικῆων καταγόμενος, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας*.⁴

This passage from Theophanes will be analyzed at some length. It can be shown fairly readily that the mention of Isauria, a province in southeast Asia Minor, is an interpolation; but, going further, the genesis and growth of this «Isaurian» tradition will be traced. This examination yields some noteworthy results concerning the relation of several important sources for the early iconoclastic period. Other, independent evidence will be also introduced, and the actual question of Leo's true origin discussed on a broader basis.

Nowhere but in this one passage does Theophanes' chronicle call Leo an Isaurian. In fact, at a later point Theophanes designates Leo as *παρανομώτατος Σύρος*,⁵ contradicting the earlier *ὁ Ἰσαυρος*. Nicephorus in the *Breviarium* does not mention an Isaurian origin for the emperor, but merely says: «*Λέων ὁ πατρίκιος, τηνικαῦτα στρατηγὸς ὦγ τοῦ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν λεγομένου στρατοῦ*». ⁶ The *Vita Stephani Junioris*⁷ unambiguously calls him a Syrian: *Λέων ὁ Συρογενής, ὁ νέος Δοῦκ καὶ Ἰδουμαῖος, ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἐφράς μερῶν* and later notes: *ἐκ τῆς Συριάτιδος γαίης τό τε γένος καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἔχοντα*.⁸ The *passio*

³ E.g., Glycas, ed. Bonn, 520, 11 (*ὁ ... ἐξ Ἰσαυρίας Λέων*); Zonaras, ed. Bonn, III, 248, 11 (*ὁ πατρίς μὲν ἦν Ἰσαυρία* ...); Peter of Sicily, ed. D. Papachryssanthou, TM 4 (1970), 47, 28 (*... ἦν δὲ τηνικαῦτα Λέων ὁ Ἰσαυρος*); *Synax. CP*, 62, 24-25 (*ὁ τῆς ἀσβετίας ἀρχηγὸς καὶ μισάγιος βασιλεὺς Λέων ὁ Ἰσαυρος* ...); Manasses, ed. Bonn, line 4199 (*ἐκ μὲν Ἰσαύρων τὴν σειρὰν εἶκε τῆς γεναρχίας*).

⁴ Ed. de Boor, I, 391, 3-6 (But cf. note 15). The Greek MS tradition is unanimous about both mentions of Isauria; the divergent Latin rendering of Anastasius is discussed below.

⁵ I, 412, 2-3. *Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει, κδ' τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ τυράννου καὶ παρανομωτάτου Σύρου κτλ.*

⁶ Ed. de Boor, 52, 21-22.

⁷ The work is earlier than Theophanes' chronicle; the author says he is writing forty-two years after the saint's death (PG 100, 1072C), which occurred before 768 (Theophanes, I, 443, 15); thus the *Vita* was completed certainly before 810 A.D., whereas Theophanes' work goes to 813 A.D. Cf. Xp. Лопаревъ (Kh. Loparev), «Византийская жизнь святыхъ VIII-IX вѣковъ», VV 17 (1910), p. 145; A. Lombard, *Constantin V, empereur des Romains (740-775)* (Paris, 1902), p. 156, note 3.

⁸ PG 100, 1084B, 1109C. The epithet *Ἰδουμαῖος* is perhaps simply prompted by the comparison to Doeg the Edomite (I Samuel 21:7). The Hebrew reads דּוֹעַגַּ הָעֲדֹמִי, Doeg the

of Paul of Kaïouma (martyr in the reign of Constantine V) also makes Leo of Syrian birth. «*Λέοντα τὸν Συρογενῆ, τὸν πάσης πλήρη κακίας καὶ δόλου κατὰ τοῦ καλοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ Θεοδοσίου φημί, κατεξανιστᾷ, χεῖρα τοῦτον ἄρασθαι πείσας πολεμικὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ*». ⁹ The *Patria* of Pseudo-Codinus (late 10th century) also calls Leo *Συρογενής* several times, though it does give him the epithet *ὁ Ἰσαυρος* in one passage. ¹⁰ The *Συναγωγή Χρόνων* (10th cent.) also calls Leo *ὁ Σύρος*. ¹¹

The «Isaurian» element was introduced only gradually into the Byzantine historiographic tradition and always in connection with the story of Yazid's iconoclasm. ¹² The imitation of Yazid's action is ascribed, by John of Jerusalem, at the Council of 787, only to the bishop Constantine of Nacolia. *Haeresis* 102 *aucta* (an expanded version of

Edomite or Idumaeen. However, the text in Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, I, 544 has *Δωγκ ὁ Σύρος*. If the author of the *Vita* also read *Σύρος* — which would in fact make the comparison with the Syrian Leo more *à propos* — then *Ἰδουμαῖος* can perhaps be regarded as a circumlocution to designate Leo as the new Herod; in any case «Idumaeen» seems to be a pejorative epithet, not a precise racial reference, much like «Nabataean Arab». (See below, ch. IV, n. 3).

⁹ Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ανέκτα IV* (St. Petersburg, 1897), 247, 10-13. The *passio Pauli* was also edited by B. Latyšev, from the same Jerusalem MS that was used by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*Menologii anonymi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, II (St. Petersburg, 1912), pp. 23-27). J. Gill («The life of Stephen the Younger by Stephen the Deacon: Debts and Loans» OCP 6 [1940], p. 134) claims that the passage is taken from the *Vita Stephani*. Gill was not aware of the existence of the Greek text, and made his statement in the belief that only the Latin version was extant. This passage of the *Vita Pauli*, though it may depend on the information of the *Vita Stephani*, certainly was not copied from it word-for-word (cf. with PG 100, 1084B). The Latin text does show greater resemblance, and was perhaps harmonized with the *Vita Stephani*. («*Leo tunc Syrus genere, orientaliū ouram gerens, praesumpsit imperio resistere*...» AA SS Jul. II [1721], p. 635E). The present Greek text of the martyrdom is from the late ninth century at the earliest; it includes the «invention» of the saint's relics by the patriarch Anthony Kauleas (893-901).

¹⁰ Ed. Th. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1907), II, 226, 13; 245, 8; 253, 11; 276, 13. (Leo the Syrian) 193, 10 (Leo the Isaurian); this last is a passage identical with the entry in the eighth century *Παραστάσεις Ἐννομῶν Χρονικαί* (ed. Preger, *op. cit.*, I, 22, 22-23). The oldest MS of this last work is from the 11th century (Preger, *op. cit.*, I, p. viii); in all likelihood the *ὁ Ἰσαυρος* is a late interpolation.

¹¹ Ed. de Boor, 225, 4.

¹² The connection of Yazid's and Leo's iconoclastic measures is treated in detail below; see pp. 59 ff for background information on the documents mentioned in this paragraph. This discussion, in fact, presupposes the results of the later source analysis. However, the logic of the exposition demands that the matter of Leo's Isaurian antecedents be introduced here.

Chapter 102 of John of Damascus' *De Haeresibus*, preserved in one of Nicephorus' apologetic tracts¹³ introduces Leo, but not yet the Isaurian locale. The Isaurian setting is also absent from Theophanes' version of the Yazid story. The apocryphal *ad Theophilum*, written prior to 843, is the first to make the young Leo accost the Jewish agitators in Isauria, but does not yet in the story explicitly call Leo an Isaurian.¹⁴ Georgius Hamartolus, who writes after 843 and uses the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*, is the first of these, apart from the one passage in Theophanes, who gives Leo the epithet δ "Isaυpos."¹⁵ It

¹² See pp. 68 ff. for details.

14 PG 95, 357A ... φηγίδες ἔρχοντο ἀνακάμψαντες πάλιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰσραυρικοῖς μεθορίοις.
 Cf. below, p. 74, for a qualification.

But cf. below, p. 74, for a qualification.

15 *Μετὰ δὲ Θεοδοσίῳ βασιλευσιν Λέων ὁ Ἰσαυρὸς* ed. de Boor, II, 735, 13; ἐπὶ Λέοντι καὶ Κ. τῶν Ἰσαυρῶν II, 779, 2. In a number of early ninth-century sources Leo, or his dynasty, are, to be sure, referred to in passing as « Isaurian. » For instance, Nicephorus' unpublished *Refutatio et Eversio* says: ἀγρουν τοιγαροῦν εἰς μέσους τὸν Λέοντα ἐκείνον τὸν ἀποστάτην ... τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἰσαυρῶν τῶν δυσωνύμων ὀρμώμενον καὶ οὐδὲν ἦτον θηριώδη τὴν γνῶμην ἢ τὴν προσηγορίαν (Par. gr. 1250, fol. 176, lines 17-21. I am greatly indebted to Prof. P. J. Alexander for kindly lending me his photocopy and transcript of the MS). In Theodorici's Life of Nicetas of Medikion (d. 824) Leo is called Isaurian: Λέων ... ὁ τῶν Ἰσαυρῶν λεγόμενος (AA SS Apr. I (1866), Appendix, p. xxiii). See also the *Scriptor incertus de Leone Bardae filio* (ed. Bonn) p. 350, l. 12: Κωνσταντῖνου τοῦ Ἰσαυροῦ; p. 355, l. 1: Λέοντα τὸν Ἰσαυρον. In these and similar instances I prefer to regard the occurrences of the epithet as late « vulgate » contaminations of the manuscript tradition of these texts, rather than as genuine « pre-Georgian » witnesses, to be set against Leo's Syrian origin. The one possible exception is in Constantine of Tios' sermon against Leo's Syrian origin. The one possible exception is in Constantine of Tios' sermon about the restoration of St. Euphemia's relics to the sanctuary. This text (extant in MSS not older than the 13th century, except for one 10th century uncial fragment) has Λέοντα τὸν ἐναγῇ καὶ βέλῃ, τὸν ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τῶν δυσωνύμων Ἰσαυρῶν ... (ed. F. Hal- kin, *Euphémie de Chalcedoine* (Bruxelles, 1965), p. 85). The sermon was written, with much likelihood, between 796 and 806 (*op. cit.*, p. 82) and thus antedates Theophanes' chronicle; it certainly has no lesser claim to be considered than the tradition of the chroniclers. However, the problem of Constantine's description of eighth-century iconoclasm, diverging in some essential features from Theophanes, complicates matters, and interpolation is a serious possibility. (So C. Mango in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1966), p. 487. I plan to treat the « Euphemia dossier » more thoroughly in a study of iconoclasm under Constantine V). At any rate, if Constantine of Tios was writing before the demise of Constantine VI it is unlikely that he would characterize the ancestor of the reigning dynasty as having sprung from « the tribe of the infamous Isaurians. » Constantine VI evinced great pride in his ancestors, judging from coins of his on the reverse of which his father, grandfather and great-grandfather are shown together. (See W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, vol. II (London, 1908) pp. 397-99). There are also a number of references in texts from the latter half of the ninth century which refer in a general way to the « Isaurian » dynasty: e.g., Synodicon of Orthodoxy, ed. Gouillard, TM 2 (1967), p. 57, l. 171 (ἐπὶ τῶν

Returning to the Theophanes passage, the ninth-century Latin translation of Anastasius should be considered. It gives a significantly divergent rendering: « Mundi anno Vlccviii... Leo imperator Romanorum provehitur... hoc itaque anno Leo imperare coepit ex Germanicensibus dirivatus, genere Syrus... »¹⁷ Anastasius' version thus omits both mentions of Isauria, (though it preserves the Germanicia notice), and instead of τῇ ἀλθελίᾳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας has the important phrase *genere Syrus*. Thus it seems that Anastasius in his Greek text did not have any mention of Isauria, but in all likelihood read Σύρος τῷ γένει or Συρογενής¹⁸ after ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικέων καταγόμενος (= *ex Germanicensibus dirivatus*). The points of Theophanes' Greek text do not antedate

The oldest manuscripts of Theophanes' Greek text do not antedate the late 9th century.¹⁹ By this time the chronicle of Georgius Hamar-

I think, from an immediate knowledge of Georgius' chronicle.
CREDENUS (ed. Bonn, I, 788) adopts Georgius

¹⁶ See Krumbacher, GBL, p. 356. Credenius (ed. Bonn, I, 788) adopts Georgius' account rather than Theophanes' version, as do Glycas (ed. Bonn, 521), and Leo Grammaticus (ed. Bonn, 173-5). Zonaras (ed. Bonn, III, 248 f) follows Theophanes mainly, but inserts the Yazid story from Georgius (pp. 257-9).

17 *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, II, 251, 29-32.
18 One cannot decide on stylistic grounds which is preferable. Theophanes uses both *ὑπογενής* (I, 330, 1) and *ὑπόρ τῷ γένει* (I, 128, 8).
19 The Christ Church MS of Theophanes (MS Wake 5) is now assigned to the last

19. The Christ Church MS of Theophanes (MS Wake 5) is now assigned to the last two or three decades of the ninth century by Mr. Nigel Wilson. (A Manuscript of Theophanes in Oxford, DOP 26 (1972), p. 358). Mr. Wilson was kind enough to verify for me that the phrase about Leo's Isaurian origin is found in this MS (fol. 254v) (Letter dated Nov. 16, 1972). Mr. Wilson also assigns *Vat. gr.* 165, which contains Theophanes, to the ninth century.

A possible early *terminus ante quem* for the interpolation is provided by the *Acta Martyrum Constantinopolitanorum* (AA SS Aug II [1735], p. 434 ff). The «historical» part of the introduction is taken, with some changes, directly from Theophanes; in particular it says: ἐβασίλευσε ... Λέων ὁ δυσσεβής, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Γερμανικῆς χώρας κατὰ νότον, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰσαυρῶν ὁρμώμενος δυσσεβοτάτης αἰρέσεως (435B). The wording shows an attempt to smooth out the interpolation in Theophanes' text; Leo came from Germanicia, «indeed from the most impious sect (αἵρεσις) of the Isaurians». The writer avoids saying that Germanicia is in Isauria, at the cost of introducing the unspe-

tolus had become extremely popular as a historical source for the events of the iconoclastic period, and Leo is almost uniformly designated as an Isaurian. Thus the possibility presents itself that the two mentions of Isauria in the Theophanes text are late 9th or 10th century harmonizations with the Georgius account. Anastasius, writing in 874, did not yet have these additions in his Greek text. Originally, Theophanes did not posit any Isaurian connections for Leo, but in fact had two mentions of his Syrian derivation. One of these, the *παπανωμάτατος Σύπος*, was overlooked by the redactor of Theophanes' text, and the other is preserved in the Latin version.²⁰

In the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* a Syrian locale for the encounter of Leo and the Jews is of course impossible, since the false prophets had to escape from the Muslim dominions after Yazid's death. The Byzantine border province of Isauria was a possible, though not necessarily the only, alternate choice.²¹ Georgius merely made the further step of assuming, on the basis of the story in the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*, that, since Leo met the Jews in Isauria, he was a native of that province.²² Georgius' account, which gained quasi-canonical standing,

cified «Isaurian heresy». However, he is obviously reworking the awkward *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας*. The rest of the narrative is also clearly a secondary version of Theophanes; it is very unlikely that the *Acta* would have influenced the Theophanes text.

Since the work includes the invention of the saints' relics by the patriarch Ignatius in Basil I's reign (444C), it was definitely written after 867. Moreover, since the epilogue mentions also an earthquake (444C) known to have occurred in 869 (Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 479), the present redaction dates from around 870 or later. Thus, quite possibly an interpolated text of Theophanes was already in existence in 870. However the *Acta* could have been compiled long after Ignatius' patriarchate, in the late 9th or 10th century. The edition in the AA SS does not provide palaeographic information on the manuscript utilized. At any rate, the non-interpolated text of Theophanes was still available to Anastasius in 874. (For a general discussion of the *Acta* see Loparev in VV 17 [1910], pp. 47-55.)

²⁰ K. N. Uspenskij, *Očerki I*, pp. 401-402, correctly recognizes that Anastasius preserves the original text of Theophanes on Leo's origins, and also notes the tell-tale *παπανωμάτατος Σύπος*; but there is no suggestion of a connection with Georgius' chronicle such as is put forth here, nor does he make the necessary corrections of Schenk's work. (See below, pp. 7 ff.)

²¹ Any other locality in eastern Asia Minor, e.g. Cappadocia, would have been acceptable. See below, pp. 74 ff, for some arguments why Isauria in fact was introduced.

²² This implies that Georgius, who did know and use Theophanes' chronicle, in this instance chose to follow another source. In line with this, Georgius does not mention Theophanes' note that Leo came from Germanicia. Rather than including Theophanes' story of Leo's early migration to Byzantine territory, Georgius simply calls Leo *δ' Ἰσαυρος*. The pseudo-*ad Theophilum* is independent of Theophanes. See below, pp. 7 ff.

later contaminated the manuscript tradition of Theophanes, in the form of the two glosses, one calling Leo *δ' Ἰσαυρος*, and the other qualifying Germanicia with *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας*. The «Isaurian» text of Theophanes thus lies at the end of the development, and is merely a late witness to the «Isaurian» tradition rather than its source.

The foregoing reconstruction differs from the generally unquestioned analysis of K. Schenk.²³ In his important article Schenk arrives at the correct conclusion that Leo came from Syria and that both mentions of Isauria show signs of redactional revision. However, it seems that the reasoning underlying these results is quite unacceptable, and even the end result of his analysis partially wrong. Nonetheless, Schenk's work is the only serious attempt to date which tries to explain the Syrian-Isaurian confusion, and thus merits some further comment.²⁴

Schenk argues that Theophanes himself simply confused Germanicia Euphratensis with Germanicopolis in the province of Isauria, and, thus, wrongly thinking that Germanicia was in Isauria, he wrote *ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικέων καταγόμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας*.²⁵ A later copier of Theophanes' text, who *did* know that Germanicia was not in Isauria but in Syria, converted the opposition into a contrast by inserting *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δέ* after *καταγόμενος*.²⁶ According to Schenk, Anastasius

²³ «Kaiser Leons III Walten im Innern», BZ 5 (1896), pp. 296-298 (1. Anhang. Über den Beinamen «der Isaurier»).

²⁴ Uspenskij in the previously mentioned article (see note 20) contents himself with showing that Anastasius preserves the correct text of Theophanes, but does not adequately explain the origin or chronology of the Isaurian interpolation. Regarding Schenk's work, Uspenskij gives a reference to his correct observation that contemporary literature (John of Damascus etc.) does not know about the Isaurian epithet, but does not comment on Schenk's central arguments.

²⁵ «Es ist nicht anders denkbar, als dass Theophanes Germanikia mit Germanikopolis (heute Ermenek), einer westcilicischen Stadt, welche durch die Diokletianische Provinzialeinteilung ein Bestandteil der neuen Provinz Isauria wurde, verwechselt hat» (*art. cit.*, p. 287).

²⁶ «Meiner Überzeugung nach schrieb übrigens Theophanes selbst nur *ἐκ τῆς Γ. καταγόμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας*, und einer der ersten Abschreiber der Urhandschrift, der wohl wusste, dass Germanikia nichts mit Isaurien zu tun haben kann, der sich aber den Text verständlich machen wollte, fügte erläuternd die Worte ein *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δέ*.» (*ibid.*). It should be noted that Ostrogorsky's standard textbook deforms Schenk's reasoning by saying that «K. Schenk... shows that the words *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δέ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας*... are a later addition». (*History*, p. 155, note 2.) Of course it is crucial for Schenk's whole argument that only the phrase «*τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δέ*» be an interpolation.

corrected the original Greek text of Theophanes by substituting *genere Syrus* for ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας.²⁷ Schenk's contention is that this geographical blunder of Theophanes is the source for the perpetuation of « Leo the Isaurian » in the later Byzantine historical literature.²⁸

This reconstruction first of all depends on the gratuitous supposition that Theophanes, abbot of a Bithynian cloister (as Schenk himself notes²⁹) made a gross topographical error, on familiar ground, so to speak. Secondly, it ignores the fact that Theophanes himself calls Leo in another place *παπανωμάτατος Σύρος*.³⁰ The *genere Syrus* of

²⁷ «... die besseren Handschriften der lateinischen Übersetzung... jene Stelle des Theophanes, gewiss mit absichtliche Verbesserung, mit den Worten wiedergeben: Hoc itaque anno Leo imperare coepit ex Germanicisibus dirivatus, *genere Syrus*» (*art. cit.*, p. 297). First of all, de Boor's critical apparatus does not show that any of the Latin MSS diverge from the rendering *genere Syrus*. Secondly, though of course the Latin version attests that τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δὲ was not yet in the late ninth-century Greek text, it implies even more, namely that this text did not mention Isauria, but rather Syria. Anastasius simply translated the Greek text rather than «improving» it by information drawn from some other source. Of course Anastasius is not always faithful to the text, and occasionally provides a commentary rather than a simple translation. E.g. Theophanes' οὗτος δ' εἰρημέτος Λέων ὑπερμάχῃ τῷ Ἀπρελίῳ, ἐναντιούμενος Θεοδοσίῳ. (I, 395, 7-8.) Anastasius replaces by an interpretation, which has no support from the Greek MSS (his Leo simulabatur et pro Artemio expugnabat Theodosio adversatus, quin, ut verum dicatur, ad se ipsum imperium transferre decertans; quod et fecit [II, 255, 3-5]). However such interpolations are few. See de Boor's comments on the character of Anastasius' translation (II, 407). In this case I find Uspenskij's attempt to vindicate the Anastasian version unconvincing (VV n.s. 3 [1950], pp. 403-4). At I, 395, 7 codex c preserves the reading εὐσεβής instead of εἰρημέτος; apparently this change is due to an early redactor, if it is already attested by Anastasius' *hic Leo*. Cf. however, ch. IV, n. 8; Anastasius in some instances omitted εὐσεβής *suo motu*.

²⁸ «Der Urheber der irrigen ethnographischen Benennung ist Theophanes...» (*art. cit.*, p. 296); «Nach alledem entsprang dieser Beiname, der sich seitdem durch die gesamte geschichtliche Literatur schleppte, einer Verwechslung, also einem Irrtum unseres byzantinischen Chronographen» (*art. cit.*, p. 297).

²⁹ Schenk supports his low estimate of Theophanes' geographic knowledge with some not very cogent remarks. «Man wende nicht ein, dass Theophanes, der Abt eines bithynischen Klosters, besser Bescheid wissen musste. „Romania“, wie damals Kleinasien hiess, war gross, an Umfang fast gleich unserem deutschen Reiche, und Germanikia lag weit draussen, damals schon jenseits der Staatsgrenze» (p. 297). Theophanes wrote a detailed world chronicle, and especially such a mistake, putting a Syrian Muslim-ruled town in Byzantine Asia Minor, he would not have made. To take up Schenk's Prussian analogies, this error would be equivalent to making Kalisz in Russian-ruled Poland part of the Second Reich.

³⁰ Cf. p. 2.

Anastasius is also left quite unmotivated, unless one would assume³¹ that Anastasius himself changed the text in accordance with the later *παπανωμάτατος Σύρος* (= *nequissimus Syrus*³²). But this in turn would overlook the fact that Anastasius omits the δ' Ἰσαυρος of the chapter heading rather than changing it to *Syrus*. As we have already argued, it is much more likely that Anastasius is simply following his uninterpolated 9th century text, which, though it did not have either δ' Ἰσαυρος or δ' Σύρος in the chapter heading, did read Σύρος τῷ γένει or Συρογενῆς after *καταγόμενος*.³³

It is tentatively proposed below that the Isaurian locale was introduced into the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*, through a confusion of accounts about the emperors Leontius and Leo.³⁴ The fact that the Isaurians

³¹ As Schenk, who seems to be quite unaware of Theophanes' *παπανωμάτατος Σύρος*, does not.

³² Theophanes, II, 267, 11.

³³ Schenk argues that Anastasius rendered the Λέων δ' Σύρος of the anonymous *συναγωγή χρόνων* (ed. de Boor, 225, 4) as *Leo Hiscaurus* «infolge Theophanischen Einflusses» (*art. cit.*, p. 290). Thus, Anastasius resisted the Theophanean influence in his translating this list of names, he suddenly, by a «delayed reaction», did succumb to the Isaurian virus? The solution is much simpler. De Boor published the *Συναγωγή Χρόνων* on the basis of a single manuscript (*cod. Coisl.* 193). Though the *lectio difficilior* δ' Σύρος most probably does preserve the correct reading, it is quite likely that the manuscript on which Anastasius depended had the already more common δ' Ἰσαυρος. For control we may refer to Anastasius' translation of Nicephorus' *Chronographia brevis* (*Χρονογραφικὸν Σύντομον*). There are two separate Greek recensions of this work: the first calls Leo III Λέων δ' καὶ Κόνων, whereas the second recension gives Λέων δ' Ἰσαυρος (ed. de Boor, 100, 5). (Both Greek recensions go up to the reign of Basil I; Anastasius' version stops with Michael III. Anastasius' translation of the *Συναγωγή Χρόνων* also goes to Basil, whereas *Coisl.* 193 has also an entry Λέων καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος. The introduction of δ' Ἰσαυρος into both Nicephorus' *Chronographia* and the anonymous *συναγωγή* is thus post-iconoclastic.) Anastasius is a witness to the second recension of the *Chronographia* in giving *Leo Hiscaurus* (Theophanes, II, 45, 14) Anastasius has no special bias for or against δ' Ἰσαυρος. In the *Συναγωγή Χρόνων* and the *Chronographia* he had Λέων δ' Ἰσαυρος in the Greek text, and thus faithfully rendered it both times *Leo Hiscaurus*. However, in his copy of Theophanes he did not have the epithet, which therefore does not appear in his Latin version. (Incidentally, de Boor, followed by Schenk, refers to the *συναγωγή χρόνων* as «*chronographia brevis*». Not only does this cause a confusion with Nicephorus' different, longer work, the *χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον* (translated by Anastasius as *Chronographia brevis*), but it is a misnomer for the Greek title, which Anastasius correctly translates as «*Collectio annorum*» (Theophanes II, 340, 21).)

³⁴ See pp. 74 ff. The details, since they properly belong together with the various versions of the Yazid story, will not be discussed here.

from antiquity had the reputation of wild and treacherous barbarians³⁵ may have been an added motive to make Leo «an Isaurian». This invested Leo with an epithet which was equivalent to «Leo the Gypsy» or «Leo the Vandal.» It is possible, though admittedly there is no literary evidence to prove it, that the δ *Ἰσαυρος* was a common derogatory epithet which earlier, before the composition of the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*, attached itself, in this transferred sense, via the jargon of popular iconophile propaganda, to the name of Leo.

The tradition that Leo came from Germanicia, though still preserved in the interpolated text of Theophanes, was not taken up by Georgius Hamartolus or the subsequent Byzantine chronicles.³⁶ Even the mention in Theophanes was «neutralized» by the Isaurian gloss. Though a few Byzantine documents to perpetuate a memory of Leo's Syrian origin,³⁷ the vast majority of the late Byzantine sources which mention Leo's derivation make him an Isaurian. Thus, in Byzantine historiography Leo's connection with Syria and Germanica was quickly forgotten.

The case is quite different with the Syriac and Arabic historical works. The eighth-century Jacobite chronicle falsely attributed to Dionysius of Tell-Mahre³⁸ is emphatic about the Syrian origin of Leo. «And this Leo was a bold man, and strong as well as pugnacious; and

³⁵ See P. J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbeck* (Washington, 1967), p. 87, note 41 for a listing of such references. Though this «bad press» is predominant (cf. II, n. 40), Isaurians do sometimes appear in a more favorable light: they were well known as builders and architects; Candidus, an Isaurian historian, is cited by Photius (*Bibliotheca*, codex 79) etc. See Benesewiś in *Byz I* (1924), pp. 158-159, and C. Mango, «Isaurian Builders», in *Polychronion: Festschrift F. Dölger*, ed. P. Wirth (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 358-95. The well-known nineteenth-century historian K. Paparrigopoulos asserts (without giving references) the negative intent of the «Isaurian» epithet; it was aimed at characterizing the iconoclastic reformers as bores and criminals. (*Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*, vol. 10 (Athens, 1970), p. 70).

³⁶ It is noteworthy that Zonaras, who follows Theophanes quite closely for Leo's reign, omits the mention of Germanicia, and simply says: *Ἀπὸν ... ὃ πατρὶς μὲν ἦν Ἰσαυρία, ἐκείθεν δὲ μετοικισθεὶς, μετὰ τῶν τεκόντων ... ἐν Μεσσηνίᾳ τῇ θρακικῇ νεωλόγητο τὰς διαρπιάς*, (ed. Bonn, III, 248, 11-249, 2). Cf. note 19 for a different attempt, in the *Acta Martyrum OP*, to smooth out the Theophanes text. Glycas, strangely, gives δ *Ἰσαυρος* δ *Εὐρος* in the heading to the Georgius story (ed. Bonn, 173, 18).

³⁷ See above pp. 2-3.

³⁸ The part that concerns us was published by Chabot from one early ninth-century codex. See I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca* (Rome, 1958), p. 197. On the question of authorship, see R. Abramowski, «Dionysius von Tellmahre», *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 25, 2 (1940), pp. 22-23.

also by race he was Syrian, from these regions.»³⁹ An anonymous Muslim chronicle, the *Kitāb al-'Uyūn* («The Book of Springs»),⁴⁰ is even more explicit: «And in his earlier position and circumstances he was a Christian inhabitant of Mar'aš⁴¹ and there to this day a famous church is named after him.»⁴² Earlier the chronicle states: «And its patrician [i.e. of Amorium] was Liwun, the son of Qusṭanṭin, the Mar'ašite.»⁴³ The 10th-century Muslim historian Mas'ūdī says:

«... من كان له من الجاهل من العرب، لم يكن له من الجاهل من العرب، لم يكن له من الجاهل من العرب...» (ed. Chabot, p. 17, lines 17-19).

⁴⁰ According to Brooks («The Campaign of 716-718, from Arabic Sources» *JHS* 19 [1899], p. 19), this work was written in Spain, in the 11th century, but depends on early ninth-century eastern sources. Vasiliev, more cautiously, is only willing to say that the work is prior to the Mongol sack of Bagdad (1258) (*Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 369-70). Brockelmann (*GAL*, 2. Aufl. I, 421) dates the work from the fifth or sixth century A.H., but makes no comment on its sources.

⁴¹ The identification of Germanicia and Mar'aš is quite certain. See, e.g., Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, 182, 9-10 *ܡܪ ܥܝܫܐ*; Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. eccles.* III, 253: *ܡܪ ܥܝܫܐ*. However, one MS of the 10th-century lexicon of Bar Bahlul does (erroneously) identify Germanicia with Mabbug (*ܡܒܒܘܓ*). (*Lexicon Syriacum*, ed. Duval, II, 996, note 18: *ܡܒܒܘܓ*). Cf. E. Honigsmann, art. «Mar'aš», *RI* III (1936), p. 268; Honigsmann, art. «Germanikeia», *F-W Supplementband IV*, 686-689.

⁴² «... واول امره وشأنه انه كان نصرانيا من سكان مرعش وله بها كنيسة مشهورة تنسب اليه الى اليوم» (ed. de Goeje, p. 20, lines 10-11). The latter part of the statement can perhaps be explained by supposing that when Constantine V reconquered Mar'aš in 746 he built a church there in memory of his father.

⁴³ «... وبطريقها ليون بن قسطنطين المرعشي» (ed. de Goeje, p. 20, lines 5-6).

This explicit affirmation that Leo was from Mar'aš should be compared with Theophanes' statement (I, 422, 9-15) that Constantine V, after retaking Germanicia, transplanted to Byzantium his relatives on his mother's side (*τοὺς πρὸς μητρὸς συγγενεῖς*). (The Byzantine reconquest of the Germanicia region is also noted by Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, ed. de Boor, p. 62, 21-24). Were it not for the fact that Anastasius attests this last phrase by «cognatos suos ex materna linea descendentes, et Byzantii collocavit» (II, 276, 10-11, I would be inclined to regard the *πρὸς μητρὸς* an interpolation of the «Georgian» reviser, who has already committed himself to an Isaurian paternal descent for Leo. But Anastasius' version indicates that, at least by the late ninth century, *πρὸς μητρὸς* stood in the text. Of course this does not conflict with the notice of the *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*. Leo's father, Constantine, perhaps did not have any descendants left in Mar'aš by 746, though his wife's clan still did.

Incidentally, Brooks doubts the correctness of the statement that Leo was the son

« Then they made king over them an inhabitant of Mar'aš, not from the royal house, called Jirjis. »⁴⁴

It does not seem that any of these statements are dependent on Byzantine sources, on Theophanes in particular. Rather, the Syriac and Arabic chronicles preserve the local, Syrian tradition of Leo's Mar'ašite origin, a tradition which, though known to the Byzantines, was soon displaced by the secondary « Isaurian » version.

of Constantine; * this name is probably only an inference from the fact that the name of Leo's son was Constantine » (JHS 19 [1899], p. 21, n. 7). However, as Brooks does not note, Mas'ūdi in the *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-išrāf* also says explicitly that Leo was the son

of Constantine: بطريق يعرف باليون بن قسطنطين المرعشي
(« A patrician called Liwun the son of Qusṭanṭīn, the Mar'ašite ») (ed. de Goeje, p. 170 l. 14-15). There was thus a tradition in Muslim historiography that Leo's father was called Constantine; unfortunately there is no independent verification available from Byzantine or Syriac sources. However the author of the *Kitāb al-'Uyūn* did not invent the name of Leo's father, as Brooks claims.

⁴⁴ Murūj, ed. Barbier-Pavet II, 336: فملكو عليهم رجلا من غير اهل بيت الملك من اهل مرعش يقال له جرجس

The context makes it clear that Leo is meant. I don't know why he is called « Jirjis » (George) by Mas'ūdi. It should be noted that Mas'ūdi commits the grossest errors, in this work on matters of internal Byzantine history; for instance he claims that it was the empress Irene (rather than Constantine VI, of course) who was blinded! (II, 337). But he is still a witness for Leo's Syrian origin. Mas'ūdi knows that Constantine V was the son of Leo (بن اليون) but does not identify Leo with « Jirjis » (II, 336). In his later work, the *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-išrāf*, Mas'ūdi does correct « Jirjis » to « Liwun » and rectifies his account of Irene and Constantine VI (ed. de Goeje, pp. 190 — 191).

CHAPTER II

LEO — ALIAS CONON?

Before taking a closer look at the Syrian environment of Leo's early years, there is another piece of information to be analyzed which can throw added light on his origins.

There are two, seemingly quite independent, statements in the Byzantine sources about Leo's name. First, the tract *adversus Constantinum Caballinum*,¹ à propos the Jewish inspiration of Leo's iconoclasm, mentions that, when a Jew came to predict the imperial crown to Leo, the latter was still called Conon (Κόνων). The Jew advises him, for some unspecified reason, to change his name, and Leo-Conon acts accordingly. « Κόνων γὰρ ὀνομαζόμενος, Λέοντος προσ-ηγوریαν ἐαυτῷ περιεβάλλετο, ἐξ Ἑβραίων τοῦτον τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα εἰληφώς »²

The second mention of Leo's pristine name Conon comes from Theophanes. In response to Germanus's statement that iconoclasm has been foretold to break out only in the reign of one « Conon », Leo declares: « τὸ βαπτιστικόν μου ὄνομα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ Κόνων ἐστίν »³ This anecdote is apparently independent of the story in the *adversus Constantinum*; it is possible that Theophanes invented the whole episode on the basis of the one genuine piece of information that Leo's name was originally Conon.⁴ There is no reason to think he got

¹ Since the work already seems to consign Constantine V to the lower depths (ὡν ὑπὸ τοῦ βύθου τῆς ἀσβείας κατακείμενος, PG 95, 341B), but does not yet make mention of a restoration of images, it was probably written between 775 and 787. Neither Melioranskij's early dating (ca. 764) of the *Urschrift* nor the attribution to John of Jerusalem concern us now. (Georgij i Ioann, p. 75 ff.) The work will again be discussed in connection with Yazid's iconoclasm. See below, p. 66. But the exact date and authorship are of secondary importance here; at any rate, it is certainly a genuine eighth-century source, apparently uncontaminated by the Theophanes and Georgius Hamartolus traditions.

² PG 95, 336C.

³ I, 407, 20-21.

⁴ I strongly suspect that the original motivation for the anecdote was in fact some apocalyptic text where the Antichrist is called Κόνων; however, I have not been able to discover yet such a passage in the early Christian and Byzantine apocalyptic literature. The assimilation of the iconoclastic evil to the often-foretold apocalyptic woes does appear in the polemical literature: e.g., in the *Novθεια* (ed. Melioranskij,

this information from the *adversus Constantinum*; in that case one would have expected the appearance of the name in the context of the Yazīd story. At any rate, though the narrative framework in both Theophanes and the *adversus Constantinum* deserves little credence, both sources make the intriguing claim that Leo used to be called Conon.⁴

In Georgius Hamartolus, and later sources dependent on him, the name *Κόνων* becomes even more firmly attached to Leo. Georgius calls the emperor *Λέων ὁ Ἰσαυρὸς ὁ καὶ Κόνων*.⁵ One recension of Nicephorus' *Chronographia brevis* has *Λέων ὁ καὶ Κόνων*.⁶ Two passages in the *Παραστάσεις Σύντομοι Χρονικαὶ* in fact call Leo by the name Conon only; the second notice is copied verbatim by

pp. v-viii). The new persecutions are compared at length to those foretold in the Book of Daniel and the gospels.

⁴ The Slavonic *Vita* of Stephen of Surož makes the dialogue take place between Leo and the saintly Stephen, rather than Germanus: царъ рече, право Стефане напелъ еси. Кононъ отецъ и мати нарекли имя мнѣ. ed. V. Vasilievskij, Труды III, (St. Petersburg, 1915), 92, 22-24. (*The emperor said, 'You have rightly found out, Stephen, [my] father and mother called me by the name Conon'.*) The Conon anecdote in this text does not verbally coincide with the Theophanes account (copied by Georgius Hamartolus and thus available in Slavonic translation. See VII, n. 44). We may have here an independent early fixation of the oral tradition about 'Conon', the iconoclast-Antichrist rather than an interpolation based on the chronicles, either in the Slavonic version of the *Vita*, or its Greek *Vorlage*.

The *Vita* of Stephen in the Armenian Synaxarion edited by Bayan also includes the saint's encounter with Leo, and the Conon anecdote (PO 21, p. 869, l. 13-15). This Armenian version has not ever been utilized, to my knowledge, in the heated discussion about the historical value of the Slavonic *Vita*.

⁵ Ed. de Boor, II, 741, 13-14. Georgius reproduces the story of Germanus and Leo from Theophanes, but the epithet *ὁ καὶ Κόνων* at the incipit of Leo's reign is his own addition. The *Vita Germani* (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ο Ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου πάλαι Ἑλληνικὸς Σύλλογος, Μαυρογορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Ἀνεκδοτὰ Ἑλληνικά Constantinople, 1841, pp. 1-17) copies the Conon anecdote (as well as the story of Leo and the Jews) from Georgius (pp. 10-11).

⁶ Ed. de Boor, 100, 5. Recension B has *Λέων ὁ Ἰσαυρὸς* here. All the MSS have, with minor variations, *Γερμανὸς ... ἐξεβλήθη ὑπὸ ... Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου* in the patriarchal lists (119, 14). Since Nicephorus in the *Breviarium* does not know of Leo as Conon, it is quite likely that the manuscript tradition of the *Chronographia brevis* (which is brought down to the reign of Basil I) has been contaminated by the text of Georgius Hamartolus. Georgius himself makes the patriarch Nicephorus call Leo and Constantine *Ἰσαυροὶ* in a speech (ed. de Boor, II, 779, 2).

the *Patria* of pseudo-Codinus.⁷ Thus, in contrast to his Syrian origin, the Byzantine tradition did not forget this other fact about Leo's antecedents.

It has been claimed by Kulakovskij that this, apparently quite genuine piece of information supports the Isaurian origin of Leo.⁸ On the basis of a single passage in the *Vita Sabae* which says that the saint's father, John, changed his name to *Κόνων* when he joined the Isaurian legion,⁹ Kulakovskij asserts that Leo received a 'typically Isaurian' baptismal name.¹⁰

⁷ 'Ο λεγόμενος Νεώριος ὁ καὶ Ἀρκάδιος · ὃν Κόνων ἐστοιχειώσατο κτλ. *Παραστάσεις Σύντομοι Χρονικαὶ*, ed. Th. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1907), I, 67, 9-10; 'Ὅτι τὸ Νεώριον ὁ Κόνων ἐστοιχειώσατο (*Patria*, ed. Preger, *op. cit.*, II, 188, 3-4); τὸ νεώριον ὁ Κόνων ἐστοιχειώσατο M. Treu, *Excerpta anonymi byzantini ex codice parisino Suppl. gr. 607a* (Ohlau, 1880), p. 19, 18. That *Κόνων* refers to Leo here is shown by the earlier reference in the *Παραστάσεις Σύντομοι Χρονικαὶ* to *Βασίλεια Κόνωνος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου*. (20, 1-2). The appearance of the 'Isaurian' epithet here is again a contamination by the vulgate tradition (cf. *ph. I*, n. 10).

⁸ Ю. Кулаковский, *Исторія Византии*, томъ III (602-717) (Київ, 1915), p. 319: Левъ былъ родомъ изъ киликійскаго города Германикеи, а по крови-исавръ. Имя, нареченное ему при крещеніи было, типичное для исавровъ». (C Mango accepts, with some caution, Kulakovskij's thesis ('Isaurian Builders', in *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger*, ed. P. Wirth [Heidelberg, 1966], p. 363, note 20.)

⁹ Kulakovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 319, note 2. The text reads: «... ἀνεγνωρίσθη ὁ μακαρίτης Σάβας Σοφία τε τῇ μητρὶ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ πατρὶ Κόνωνι μετὰ νομασθέντι καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἰσαύρων νομάρχου κρατούντι». (E. Schwartz, *Kyriillos von Skythopolis*, TU 49, 2 (1939), 92, 26-28.

¹⁰ Ostrogorsky (*History*, p. 155, note 2) rejects Kulakovskij's statement on the basis of one counterexample, that of Pope Conon (686-7), who was 'natione grecus, oriundus parte [sic] Thracese, edocatus apud Siciliam'. Ostrogorsky merely notes: 'Pope Conon was, however, certainly no Isaurian.' Ostrogorsky does not point out that there are several dozen Conons known from classical antiquity, of even more impeccable Hellenic ancestry than this Sicilian pope. At any rate, one example, either way, is not conclusive.

On a closer look, even Ostrogorsky's one counterexample is seen to be ambiguous. First, the text in fact reads 'oriundus parte-Thraceseo' (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, p. 368; the variant *parte* does not occur in the *apparatus criticus*). Moreover, in a note (apparently overlooked by Ostrogorsky), Duchesne actually argues that this phrase, which differs from the ordinary expressions used in the text, namely, *natione N*, *ex parte N*, does not mean either that Conon was born in Thrace, or that his father's name was Thracensis; rather, Duchesne thinks, Conon's father was *Θρακησιος*, that is he came from the *Thracian theme* in Asia Minor! (p. 369, note 1). If one accepts Duchesne's reasoning, which, incidentally, is not set in the prejudicing context of the Leo-Conon problem, then it becomes possible that this Conon had Asia Minor, or even Isaurian, antecedents! (However the Thracian theme only reached as far east as Phrygia; Isauria proper lay outside of it.) Only one abridged recension (K), attested by merely

Now, (in addition to overlooking a second mention of Saba's father Conon¹¹) Kulakovskij failed to note that in the very same *Vita* there is the instance of one Abba Conon from Lycia.¹² Therefore, even on the basis of the *Vitae Sabae* one cannot assert that Conon is a name typical for Isaurians. Nonetheless, names are sometimes valuable indications of national or racial origin, and this whole question will be examined more carefully.¹³

The name *Kónων* is well attested in Hellenic antiquity, so it cannot be immediately claimed as a proof for Leo's 'barbarian' antecedents. The famous fifth-century Athenian general Conon and the astronomer

two MSS, gives the first phrase 'natione Graecus'; this recension also has 'patre Tracesio' (ed. Duchesne, p. 113).

¹¹ ... Ἰωάννης δ' ἐπικληθεὶς Κόνων ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ ἀββᾶ ἡμῶν Σάβα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐτελεύτησεν πλείστα θυνηθείς καὶ διαπρέφας ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἰσaurίων νομίμῳ (ed. Schwartz, 109, 4-6).

¹² ... τὸν ἀββᾶν Κόνωνα ... Δύκιον μὲν τῷ γένει ... (ed. Schwartz, 196, 20-22). This same *Kónων* is mentioned by Evagrius Scholasticus (ed. Bidez-Parmentier, 187, 8; 188, 25). Moreover, though Saba's father John-Conon joined an Isaurian 'νόμιμος' (numerus, or cohort), his change of name does not necessarily imply that the name Conon was popular among Isaurian soldiers. In Hellenistic and Roman armies national designations sometimes came to imply only a type of military training; for instance, there are Hellenistic examples of Jews serving in the 'Macedonian' cohorts, the ranks of which were in any case probably filled mostly with native Syrians or Egyptians. (See V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* [Philadelphia, 1966], pp. 320-23, quoting Josephus and papyrological evidence.)

¹³ V. Benešević, in a long note which, however, is not centered on the question of *Leo Isauricus*, marshals a full array of evidence for taking Conon to be a common Isaurian name, like Longinus or Zeno. ('Sur la date de la mosaïque de la Transfiguration au Mont Sinai,' *Byz* 1 [1924], p. 159, note 5). All the evidence adduced by him is taken into account in the following more systematic discussion of the *pros* and *cons* of the case. Benešević includes in his roster of Isaurian Conons Leo himself; for this identification, which is of course the object of our own investigations, Benešević refers to W. Fischer's short communication 'Leo der Isaurier Konon?' *BZ* 8 (1899), p. 718. Fischer's rather inconsequential note merely points out the passage from Theophanes where Leo tells Germanus that Conon was his baptismal name; Benešević does not take into account Schenk's important article. More significantly, Benešević does not appear to know the ample Syriac evidence for the name Conon, nor does he adequately establish the Isaurian connection of the names in his lists. He also says: 'Le nom se rencontre aussi donné à des natifs d'autres provinces. Le rapport de ces personnages avec l'Isaurie est moins clair mais toujours possible.' He then gives a list almost as long as that of the supposedly Isaurian Conons, without further comment, and considers the case closed. Ostrogorsky does not seem to be aware of Benešević's work, which at least gives a longer roster of names than Kulakovskij's one example from the *Vita Sabae*.

Conon of Samos are only some of the more prominent examples.¹⁴ In the Latin West the name does not seem to have been very popular.¹⁵ There is only one, very doubtful, ancient literary reference to a *Kónων* of *Isauria*.¹⁶

The evidence from inscriptions is plentiful, but difficult to evaluate. Of course there are several examples from Greece, Attica in particular.¹⁷ We have already noted the one Latin Conon inscription from Puteoli.¹⁸ There is much less material from Hellenized Syria, though the name does occur.¹⁹ However, the majority of the examples come

¹⁴ See P-W XI, 1318-41. J. Kircher, *Prosopographia Attica*, v. 1 (Berlin, 1901), pp. 583-587 lists 19 Conons. W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3. Auflage (Braunschweig, 1884), I. Band, p. 693, s.v. *Kónων* gives a listing which extends into the Byzantine period. Pape derives the name from *κονέω*, 'to hasten'. Whether or not this etymology is correct, *Kónων* is definitely an old Attic name (cf. P-W XI, col. 1318). E. Groag and A. Stein, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, *Suppl.* I. II. III. Pars II (Berlin and Leipzig, 1936), p. 303 only list one Conon, who, however, is overlooked in Pape. (This Conon, known from Dio Chrysostom, was the leader of a riot in Alexandria, early 2nd cent. A.D.)

¹⁵ Classical Latin literary references are to known 'Greek' Conons. Neither *Conon* nor *Cono* occurs in the indices of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. H. Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1862), no. 8300, gives one inscription with the name *Cono* from Puteoli. From the medieval period there is *Cono* of Lausanne (13th century), *MGH Scriptores XXIV* (1879), pp. 775 ff. 'Cono' seems to be a standard apocoped Latin variant of Conon; Anastasius translates Leo's statement with 'vera ex baptismo Cono mihi nomen est' (II, 263, 27). Cf. Apollo-*Ἀπόλλων*, Leo-*Λέων*, Dio-*Δίων* etc. Rather curiously, there was also another, Latin, Conon who later occupied the throne in Constantinople. In the period of the Empire of the Crusaders, Conon of Bethune acted as regent (1219-20) for Robert, the son of Peter of Courtenay. (See Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 403.)

¹⁶ Capito Lycus (5th cent. A.D. *apud* Stephen of Byzantium: *Ῥωμαῖα, χωρίον Ἰσaurίας* ... «Κόνωνα δὲ παρόντα ψευδέως ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο». (FGH IV, 134.) The editor of FGH, C. Müller, identifies this Conon with the ex-bishop Conon of Apamea, but possibly we have another, earlier, Isaurian Conon here. (Text in Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, ed. Meineke, p. 702.)

¹⁷ C.I.G. Nos. 162, 287, 448, 664, 737 (Attica); 2053b (Thrace); S.I.G. 492, 5 (Aetolia).

¹⁸ See footnote 15.

¹⁹ L. Jalabert and R. Mousterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, I (Beyrouth, 1929), No. 1183A (Seleucia Pieria); No. 1220B, a very conjectural restoration, *Ko[v(ω)]v*, associated with an *ex voto* to Symeon the Stylite; No. 1565 (Laodiceia-Apamea). The very few inscriptions found at Mar'aš do not yield any Conons. The name does not occur in J.-B. Chabot's *Index alphabétique et analytique des inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie publiées par Waddington* (Paris, 1897).

from Asia Minor: Lycaonia,²⁰ Phrygia,²¹ Lydia,²² Caria,²³ Asia,²⁴ Pisidia,²⁵ and many from Cilicia.²⁶ Thus, though the popularity of the name is definitely attested in eastern Asia Minor, the scatter in the geographic distribution certainly does not demand that Conon be an Isaurian name *par excellence*. Too much importance should not be attached to the large number of inscriptions from Cilicia, a comparatively well-explored region. One of the worshippers in the temple of the Palmyrene gods at Dura Europos was called Conon.²⁷ There is a 6th-7th century seal of a metropolitan *Kónων* (unspecified locality) in the Dumbarton Oaks collection.²⁸

The early Byzantine and Syriac literary evidence however attests a much greater popularity for the name Conon in Syria than the available inscriptions indicate. There is abundant literary witness for the name *Kónων* in Asia Minor also. The hagiographic literature is of some importance, since of course naming children after renowned saints acquired great popularity.

There are two martyrs of Iconium *Kónων pater et filius* during Aurelian's persecution,²⁹ and a Pamphylian martyr Conon «the gardener» under Decius.³⁰ However perhaps the most interesting for our purposes here is the popular healer-saint Conon of Bidana

²⁰ W. M. Ramsay and G. L. Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (London, 1909), p. 524 (near Iconium) *Kónων Ἰνδα[κ]ίου*; M.A.M.A. VIII, No. 326d.

²¹ CIG No. 3989; M.A.M.A. I (1923), No. 186, 188, 207, 222, 223, 306, 312, 377; M.A.M.A. V, No. 309 (Nacolia); M.A.M.A. VI, No. 384; M.A.M.A. VII, Nos. 80, 122, 127, 590.

²² C.I.G. No. 3141, 3142.

²³ C.I.G. No. 2702.

²⁴ W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (Hildesheim, 1960), no. 444, line 8.

²⁵ C.I.G. No. 2702.

²⁶ M.A.M.A. III (J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *Denkmäler aus dem Rauhen Kilikien (Cilicia Trachea)*: *Kónων* 15 times, *Kónον* 30 times, *Κόνων* 6 times; C.I.G. Nos. 4405, 4409, 4412, 4413; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1962), *Appendix titulorum graecorum*, No. 8877: *Ὡς κτε Ἐλῳιος Κόνων οὐερπὰς* etc.

²⁷ M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura Europos and its Art* (Oxford, 1938), p. 70.

²⁸ V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V, 2 (Paris, 1963), pp. 739-40 (No. 930).

²⁹ BHG 360.

³⁰ BHG 361; for text of the *passio*, see R. Knopf - G. Krüger, *Ausgewählte Martyreren, 4. Aufl.* (Tübingen, 1965), pp. 64-67. The saint, we are told, was born in Nazareth and then lived ἐν πόλει Μαγύδων τῆς Παμφυλίας (p. 67).

in Isauria.³¹ There are no extant Syriac or Arabic *Vitae* of saints by this name, to my knowledge.

In Constantinople there was a monastery τοῦ ἁγίου Κόνωνος, the monks of which took an active part in a serious riot prior to the Nika uprising.³² Maximus the Confessor wrote a letter to a monk Conon, in an unspecified locality.³³ Several Byzantine chroniclers mention the ex-bishop *Kónων* of Apameia in Syria who was the leader of an Isaurian insurrection in the time of Anastasius I.³⁴ Moschus mentions in the *Pratum Spirituale* a *ιερομόναχος* Conon from the monastery of Penthucla in Palestine.³⁵ The Lycian Abba Conon of the *Vita Sabas* has already been noted.³⁶ The *Vita Eustratii* notes one monk *Kónων* [sic], from a Bithynian cloister on Mount Olympus,³⁷ thus possibly of local Asia Minor extraction.

Bishop Conon of Σβίδη in Isauria, and his namesake from Perta (Πέρτα) in neighboring Lycaonia were among the signatories of the decrees of Chalcedon in 451.³⁸ The Greek *Vita* of the younger Symeon the Stylite recounts the saint's raising from the dead one Abba *Kónων*, struck down by the plague;³⁹ it can be perhaps assumed that this monk was of local Syrian origin. A brother of the emperor Zeno (who

³¹ BHG 2077 *Passio* («ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων») in *Synax. CP*, col. 513-516. See also the shorter notice in the *Menologium Basilii*, PG 117, 340 BC. The account in the *Synax. CP* tells of the saint's enduring popularity in Isauria: his words are remembered by the natives *μεχρὶ καὶ σήμερον*; after the saint's death his dwelling is turned into a church and becomes a place of pilgrimage. Doubtless many named their children after the saint to procure his protection.

³² Theophanes I, 184, 8 ff; Malalas, PG 97, 688 CD. See R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, 1e partie, t. III (Paris, 1953), p. 293 for a tentative localization of the monastery.

³³ Epistle 25 πρὸς Κόνωνα πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἡγούμενον. (PG 91, 613). Photius (*Bibliotheca*, codex 192) comments on the letter, but without giving any further information about the abbot Conon.

³⁴ Evagrius, ed. Bidez-Parmentier, pp. 134-5; Theophanes I, 188; Malalas, PG 97, 381; John of Antioch, fragment 214, 2 (FGH IV, 620).

³⁵ PG 87, 2853-54. Cf. BHG 2080.

³⁶ See above, p. 16.

³⁷ Ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 'Ανέκτα IV, 380, 27; for this spelling of the name, cf. 'Ανέκτα V, 409.

³⁸ E. Schwartz (ed.), *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Tomus II, vol. I (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933), p. 348, 31; p. 348, 16.

³⁹ *Vita S. Symeonis capita selecta*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites* (Brussels, 1923), pp. 258, 261; ed. P. van der Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Symeon Stylite le Jeune I* (Bruxelles, 1964), p. 198, 28.

letters have the name Conon. ⁴⁵ Several of the signatories of a monophysite manifesto «from the abbots of Arabia» are called Conon. ⁴⁶ Cloisters names after «Mar Conon» are noted in the literature, but it is not clear which saint Conon is meant. ⁴⁷ The name Conon then, whatever its antecedents, ⁴⁸ enjoyed some currency in Syria.

ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛ fol. 62b); the MS also has a copy of the second ⲡⲣⲟⲩⲱⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ (ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ) signed by John, Conon (ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛ) Eugenius, and others (ed. Chabot, *Documenta*, pp. 156-160); see also Wright, *Catalogue*, II, 705, no. 26, 27). According to John of Ephesus, many of Conon's adherents were from Isauria and Cilicia (*Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Brooks, pp. 255, 256, tr. p. 193).

⁴⁵ One is to Conon, a police officer, ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ literally «pursuer of robbers»; no locality is given, but the rest of the letters in this section of the collection have a Syrian destination. The second letter is to Conon the *silentiarius*, ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ (Wright, *Catalogue*, II, 561; 569; ed. E. W. Brooks, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus* (London, 1904), pp. 139-40, 496-98).

⁴⁶ ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ Conon, abbot of the cloister of ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛ, Conon, abbot of ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛ. (ed. Chabot, *Documenta*, pp. 214, 219, 220. The Syriac list of names is also reproduced in Wright, *Catalogue*, II, pp. 709-714). «Arabia» of course here denotes the ecclesiastical province by that name, which belonged to the patriarchate of Antioch (*Atlas zur KG*, p. 21), not the Arabian peninsula.

⁴⁷ Michael twice mentions a Syrian monastery of Mar Conon (ed. Chabot, IV, pp. 266, 269, tr. II, pp. 171, 176). B.M. Add. 14602, fol. 83r mentions «the holy cloister of Mar Conon» (ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ), fol. 83r; ed. Chabot, *Documenta*, p. 217, 30). This reference is also cited in Th. Nöldeke, «Zur Topographie und Geschichte der Haurāngend», ZDMG 29 [1875], p. 435. Nöldeke says in passing (p. 435, note 2): «Der hl. Conon hatte noch sonst in Syrien Klöster daher ⲕⲁⲛⲟⲛ am oberen Baradā und ein andres südlich von Tyrus. Conon war damals ein beliebtes Mannesname.» Unfortunately, Nöldeke does not give his reference for this Arabic-Qānūn, nor provides more examples for the popularity of the name. To my knowledge, no Saint Conon occurs in any of the Syriac Jacobite menologia; however, it is most likely that these cloisters would be named after the Isaurian Saint Conon. ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛ is probably a variant of the name ⲕⲟⲛⲁ (Qunā), which was the name of a famous orthodox bishop of Edessa in the fourth century, commemorated in the Jacobite menologia (PO 10 [1912], 40, 1; 45, 6). However, it is not as likely that Qonon is the same as ⲕⲟⲛⲁ (Kuni or Kunay).

⁴⁸ The word ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛ frequently occurs in Syriac (and as a loanword in Arabic) with the meaning of «rule» or «canon», as well as in other senses. The identity of this word with the name Qonon is of course possible; however, other etymologies can also be proposed.

Qonon could be a hypocoristic formation from the root qn' «to possess» (I owe this suggestion to Prof. John Strugnell). See Th. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (London, 1904), p. 79 for examples of *-on* diminutives. To support this conjecture, one may note that the name qnn occurs in the South Arabian inscriptions and is perhaps a variant form of the name qn, which in turn is possibly connected to the classical Arabic

Though the foregoing roster is not quite complete and can certainly be augmented, some conclusions may be made on the basis of this evidence. The name *Kónon*, though it often occurs in the classical period in Greece, in the 6th-8th centuries A.D. was predominantly borne by persons of «oriental» extraction. In fact it is not unlikely that an indigenous Asia Minor or Semitic name has been identified with the known old Attic name in the Greek literature. ⁴⁹ At any

ⲕⲟⲛ «slave». (G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, t. 1 (Louvain, 1934), p. 190). H. Wuthnow does not note *Kónon* as having possible Semitic antecedents. (*Die semitischen Menschnennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients* (Leipzig, 1930). Wuthnow does avow the incompleteness of his work with regard to «zweideutige Namen [die] besonders in der Schicht beliebt waren, die die hellenistische Kultur trug» (p. 2).

The material from the Septuagint, the source *par excellence* for examples of «Semitic into Greek», is more plentiful. The Codex Vaticanus in the (apocryphal) I Esdras 9:23 gives *Kónos* as the equivalent of the Jewish name קִלְיָה of Ezra 10:23 (most MSS have *Kállos*). In Judith 4:3 the name *Kavá* appears. In I Chron. 15:22 *Kavvá* is the translation of the theophoric name יְהוָה יִכְוֶה (Yahwe protects). In the Hebrew text of Nehemiah 9:4 the name כְּנָנִי (*K'nānī*) appears, which in sound at least is quite close to Conon; it is transcribed as *Xavavé*, *Xavavas* in the LXX. These examples show that in the Septuagint often both Qof and hard Kaf were transliterated by κ. Thus, if this transcription is applicable to the name Qonon, it is possible that Conon is derived from *knn*, «to protect» or «to hide», a root known in Hebrew and Arabic (כָּן), as well as in Mandaeen; cf. Syriac ܕܡܢܐ, Talmudic Aramaic ܕܡܢܐ. If this reasoning is correct, Conon means «the treasured one» or «the protected one». On one inscription (in imperial Aramaic) «kny the scribe (spr)» is mentioned (H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1966-69), Bd. I, p. 47 [No. 236]). The editors vocalize the name as «Kanunajja» and interpret it to mean «he who was born in the month Kanūn» (Bd. 2, p. 292). However, perhaps derivation from the root *knn* is also a possibility.

⁴⁹ To quote some possibly valid hagiographical parallels: according to P. Peeters, the name of St. Sergius (Σέργιος) is but a Hellenized form of the Syriac ܫܪܓܝܐ (šerāgā, «lamp»; the name of St. Cosmas (Κοσμάς), rather than being derived from κόσμος (P. Maas, BZ 17 [1908], p. 606), is, in Peeters' opinion, nothing but the older Aramaic Qozma (ܩܙܡܐ). (*Le trésor oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* [Brussels, 1950], pp. 67-68). However one must remember that in his zeal to restore oriental hagiography to its rightful place, Peeters is occasionally unfair to the all-pervasiveness of Hellenistic influences. To be certain about these derivations, one would have to undertake more thorough onomastic studies. At any rate Sergius is of course an old Roman patrician name. However, in both these cases, as with Conon, there is the possibility that two homophones, one of Greco/Latin, and the other of Semitic origin have become identified. (Derivation of Conon from Phrygian or another Anatolian language is also possible, especially in view of the large number of Conon inscriptions from the Asia Minor. However not enough is known about these languages, to enable one to attempt

Its bishop John in the second quarter of the fifth century should perhaps be regarded as a crypto-Nestorian.⁵ However, the monophysite reaction also engulfed Germanicia; its bishop Thomas was at the side of Severus during the famous disputation of 533 with the Chalcedonians, held in the presence of Justinian.⁶ From the sixth century onward Germanicia was definitely within the monophysite orbit.

Though, as we shall see, the Muslim conquests made the region in which Germanicia-Mar'aš was situated a theater of constant military operations in the seventh through the ninth centuries, a monophysite hierarchy came to be firmly established by the end of the seventh. The bishop of Mar'aš, Sergius Zekuyana, consecrated the famous George « bishop of the Arabians » in 685.⁷ The Jacobite episcopacy continued in the eighth century.⁸ Bishop Theodotos, a contemporary of Leo, reigned until 738.⁹ There are no indications for the existence of a Melkite hierarchy in Mar'aš in the period with which we are concerned.

There is no evidence that the Paulicians were already present in any numbers in Mar'aš in the late seventh and early eighth centuries; however certainly by the ninth century, in the reign of Basil I, Mar'aš

name was Barba'alāmin (ܒܪܒܐܐܠܡܝܢ). Text ed. F. Nau, PO 8 (1912), pp. 162-163. See also F. Nau, « La naissance de Nestorius », ROC 14 (1909), pp. 424-26 for other Syrian testimony. All the Syrian witnesses concur on Nestorius' rhetorical gifts, supposedly due to drinking the water from a certain local spring.

⁵ John steadfastly refused to communicate with the Cyrillians, though he did eventually sign the decrees of Chalcedon. For this and other early material on Germanicia see M. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, t. II (Paris, 1740), cols. 939-942; R. Devreesse, *Le patriarchat d'Antioche* (Paris, 1945), p. 286.

⁶ There are several letters of Severus to Thomas extant. Thomas is commemorated on the 26th of Haziran (June), in the Syrian Jacobite menologia ܬܫܡܥܝܐ ܬܫܡܥܝܐ ܬܫܡܥܝܐ (PO 10 [1915], 33, 7; 7; 42, 11). See, also E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle* (CSCO Subsidia, 2) (Louvain, 1951), pp. 73-74.

⁷ See the succession list in W. Hage, *Die syrisch-jakobitische Kirche in frühislamischer Zeit nach orientalische Quellen* (Wiesbaden, 1966), p. 102.

⁸ J.-B. Chabot, « Les évêques jacobites du VIII^e au XIII^e siècle d'après le Chronique de Michel le Syrien », ROC 6 (1901), p. 200 gives a list of bishops from Habib (ordained by Dionysius of Tell-Mahre) on. For text see also Michael, ed. Chabot, III, 500-501.

⁹ *Chronicon ad annum 846*, ed. Brooks, 236, 2-3; ܬܫܡܥܝܐ ܬܫܡܥܝܐ ܬܫܡܥܝܐ (PO 10 [1915], 33, 7; 7; 42, 11). See, also E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle* (CSCO Subsidia, 2) (Louvain, 1951), pp. 73-74.

became at least a temporary stronghold of the sect. Substantial military operations, directed by the emperor in person, were undertaken in the vicinity of the town.¹⁰ There is a possibility, at any rate, that Leo may already have come into contact with Paulicians in his early period.¹¹

The Muslim factor in the history of Mar'aš for this period has to be seen in context of the Byzantine-Arab border warfare. Mar'aš was taken and subsequently evacuated by the Arabs in several of the raids of the latter half of the seventh century.¹² The Muslims seem

¹⁰ Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bonn, 280, 18-20; Cedrenus, ed. Bonn, II, 214, 13-17. Glycas (ed. Bonn, 549, 5-6), in reporting Basil's campaign, commits almost that very mistake of confusing Germanicia and Germanicopolis which Schenk wrongly accused Theophanes of making. Glycas says: « Ο Βασίλειος δὲ μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι κατὰ Συρίαν ὤρμησε καὶ Γερμανικόπολιν δὲ τινα λεγομένην Ἀδάρα πολιορκῶν κτλ. Glycas seems to have in mind the Syrian Γερμανικία but he instead confuses Isaurian Γερμανικόπολις (present-day Ermenek) and the Syrian Ἀδαρα (al-Ḥadat, present-day Goinük, on the river Hürüt, quite close to Mar'aš). See E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* (Brussels, 1935), map II. On Germanicopolis, see P-W XIII, 1258 s.v. Germanicopolis (3).

¹¹ After he became emperor, Leo took an active part in the trial and acquittal of the Paulician heresiarch Gegnesius. (Peter of Sicily, *Historia Manichaeorum*, new critical ed. by D. Papachryssanthou, TM 4 [1970], 47, 28-49, 21). The inquisition, directed by the patriarch, demanded from the accused an avowal of the cult of the cross, but, significantly, icons were not mentioned. Possibly the heresiarch and Leo were of the same low opinion on the subject. If this incident should accordingly be dated in the latter part of Leo's reign, the unnamed patriarch is Anastasius, not Germanus. However, it would entirely accord with Germanus' character to agree to maintain a politic silence about images in a case like this. See below, p. 89. Peter's account attributes Gegnesius' acquittal not to Leo's Paulician sympathies, but to the heretic's hypocritical behavior. It is *a fortiori* unlikely that the Paulician would be assumed by this orthodox, iconophile inquisitors to have the right views about images, but not about the cross. The Armenian Paulicians, at least, rejected first the icons, then the cross. (John Öjneqi *Opera*, ed. J.-B. Aucher [Venice, 1834], p. 79) ... ܙܡܪܬܘܬ ܝܗܘܝܫܘܢ ܩܠܬܘܬܗ ܬܠܝܬܐ. ܝܗܘܝܫܘܢ ܩܠܬܘܬܗ ܬܠܝܬܐ. ܝܗܘܝܫܘܢ ܩܠܬܘܬܗ ܬܠܝܬܐ. ܝܗܘܝܫܘܢ ܩܠܬܘܬܗ ܬܠܝܬܐ. ܝܗܘܝܫܘܢ ܩܠܬܘܬܗ ܬܠܝܬܐ. The heretics progressed from the rejection of icons to the contempt of the cross, thence to « Christomachy », atheism and demon-worship! Cf. the anti-Paulician abjuration formula which condemns the heretics as opponents both of the cross and of the holy images (ed. J. Gouillard, TM 4 [1970], 203, 74-85). On Paulicians and iconoclasm, cf. N. Garsoian, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague-Paris, 1967), pp. 201 f, and « Byzantine Heresy. A Reinterpretation », DOP 29 (1971), p. 97.

¹² See Honigmann, art. « Mar'aš », EI III (1936), p. 268 for references.

to the heretical miasma of Mar'aš only for about the first fifteen years of his life, probably less.

There is no *a priori* impossibility in Theophanes' account. But Nicephorus makes no mention of this deportation, nor do any of the oriental sources, Syriac, Arabic or Armenian. For instance Michael the Syrian, who explicitly mentions Justinian's return to power, and his Khazar and Bulgarian allies, does not know of Leo's role.¹⁹ Even Theophanes devotes most of his account of Leo before 717 to the mission in the Caucasus. Now, Theophanes does report that Constantine V sent his relatives «on his mother's side»²⁰ back to Byzantium when he took Germanica in 746. It is thus possible that by Theophanes' time the descendants of Qustaṭīn of Mar'aš were established in Thrace, and the chronicler merely invented, *ex eventu*, Justinians' deportation order. At any rate there is no independent confirmation of Theophanes' assertion, and all the other sources make the eastern part of the empire the scene of Leo's early activities.²¹ Perhaps Theophanes introduced the deportation to provide

¹⁹ Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, IV, 460-51 (tr. II, 478).

²⁰ Κωνσταντίνος Γερμανικὸν παρῆλθεν ... καὶ τοὺς πρὸς μητρὸς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ μετέκτισεν (I, 422, 9-15). That the emperor would seek out his relatives and show special concern for them is psychologically very probable. The same cannot be said for Theophanes' earlier statement that Leo and his parents were transplanted to Thrace on the command of Justinian II. Unlike the episode in 746, when the moving of the imperial relatives was only part of a more general shifting of the population (οὐκ καὶ πολλοὶς Εὐροῖς Μονοφυσίταις αὐτοῖς), Theophanes here seems to make Leo's family an object of Justinian's express attention. Cf. ch. I, n. 43.

²¹ With the exception of the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* (PG 95, 357C), followed by the chronicle of Georgius Hamartolus (ed. de Boor, II, 737), which report Leo's expedition, on Theodosius' command, to Italy (Campania, Amalfi, Naples). Perhaps this story preserves genuine south Italian tradition about Leo's early years. It certainly would make good sense that Leo be appointed *strategos* of the Anatolic theme upon the successful completion of such a mission. However, this episode is late (Theodosius III ruled from 715 to 717), some ten years after Justinian's return to power and in no way disagrees with Leo's earlier eastern activities.

The chronology of this account conflicts with Theophanes who puts Leo's appointment as the Anatolic *strategos* in the reign of Anastasius II (ed. de Boor, I 395, 3-4). It is unlikely that, as the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* says, Leo was only made *spatharius* by Theodosius (σπαθαρικῷ ἐξώματι προχειρισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ αυτοκράτορος Θεοδοσίου). However we saw that Theophanes' account of Leo's encounter with Justinian and his appointment as that emperor's *spatharius* is somewhat suspect, and the rank of *spatharius* was compatible with the position of *strategos* (see Appendix 3C, note 7). The statement of the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* and Georgius that Theodosius abdicated from the throne, in favor of Leo's upon the latter's triumphant return from the Italian expedition

the *mise en scène* for Leo's gift of «five hundred sheep» to the deposed tyrant, and thus make Leo an accomplice in the latter's renewed barbarities.²² To conclude then: though Leo of course did migrate to Byzantine territory, there is not enough evidence to put this move as early as 695, or to assert that it occurred on Justinian II's orders. There is greater likelihood that the obscure Leo lived for some years in Muslim-ruled Mar'aš, then went to seek his fortunes in Byzantine Asia Minor, and only later came to the attention of the authorities in Constantinople.

is, at any rate, quite wrong; it conflicts with the known general sequence of events and the testimony of all the other chronicles.

²² Theophanes laconically says: ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ ἐρχομένου αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων, ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ μετὰ δώρων προβάτων φ'. θεραπευθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς σπαθᾶριον αὐτὸν εὐθέως πεποίηκεν, καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτὸν ὡς γνήσιον φίλον. (I, 391, 8-11). According to the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*, Leo was made *spatharius* by Theodosius III (see note 21). Theophanes is the only source to assert that Leo was Justinian's «close friend». The *Acta Martyrum Constantinopolitanorum* (AA SS Aug. II [1735], p. 435B) copy Theophanes almost word-for-word and do not provide independent evidence. "Ὁθεν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ, φημι δὴ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ, ἐρχομένου αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων, ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ μετὰ δώρων προβάτων φ'. Ὑπεραγασθεὶς οὖν ἐν τούτοις Ἰουστινιανός, πεποίηκεν αὐτὸν σπαθᾶριον καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτὸν ἔκτοτε γνήσιον φίλον. The story of Leo's Alanian adventure, of no interest to the hagiographer, is drastically abbreviated. C. Head's suggestion that the unfavorable picture of Justinian II in the Byzantine sources is to be traced back, to a great extent, to the influence of Leo III himself (*Justinian II of Byzantium* [Madison, 1972], pp. 17-18 and p. 131) is an interesting but, to my mind, quite inadequately supported hypothesis.

CHAPTER IV

THE SIEGE OF 717

Only a few aspects of Leo's early career interest us here. He did leave Mar'aš sometime after 695, joined the Byzantine army, changed his name from Conon to Leo, and — whether or not he was one earlier — he must have declared himself to be a believing Chalcedonian, the *sine qua non* of political loyalty in Byzantium. The accounts, to various degrees legendary, of Leo's rise to power and of his devious dealings with both his Byzantine masters and the Muslims do not directly concern us here.

However, in addition to the various stories which imply that Leo actually was, or pretended to be, an agent of the Arabs before he became emperor, some oriental sources present Leo as a man of two worlds, a sort of Digenes Akritas *ante litteram*. The Kitāb al-'Uyūn asserts that «he was eloquent in the Arabic and the Roman [tongues].»¹ This chronicle also tells the story that the inhabitants of Amorium, hardly of pure Hellenic stock themselves, refused to have Leo as *strategos*, and said to him, «One like you, a Nabataean from Arabian Nabataea, shall not rule over us.»² Though this epithet «Nabataean» should hardly be taken as a precise ethnographic indication,³ the story does present Leo as an untrustworthy Saracen

¹ وكان فصيحاً بالعربية والرومية (ed. de Goeje, p. ٢٥). For a description of this work, see ch. I, n. 40.

² وقالوا له مثلك لا يلينا لانك نبطي من انباط العرب (*ibid.*)

³ It seems that «Nabataean» here is simply a snoot at Leo's obscure origins. Very early in Arabic, perhaps from motives of antagonism between Bedouins and town dwellers, «Nabataean» took on the meaning of «peasant, boor, churl»; thence the term نبطي became a scornful synonym for «stranger», and finally simply came to mean «bastard» (e.g., النبطي ابن الزانية «the Nabataean son of the whore» (Kitāb al-Aḡanī)). See A. A. Fischer, «Redakteurglossen», ZDMG 59 (1905), pp. 450-451. The last import of the name was apparently known also in Greek: «Ναβαταῖοι, ἔθνος τῶν εὐδαιμόνων Ἀράβων, ἀπὸ Ναβάρου τῆς. Ναβάρης δὲ ἔστιν ἀραβιστὶ ὁ ἐκ μοιχείας γενόμενος». (From the *Ethnica* of Stephen of Byzantium [ca. 6th cent. A.D.], ed. A. Meineke [Berlin, 1849], 466, 20-22 quoted by E. Nestle, «Die semitischen Glossen der Alten», ZMDG 59 [1905], p. 34.). In a similar tenor, the envoys of Constantine V, sent to arrest the iconophile saint 4George, are characterized by the hagiographer as οἱ τῆς Ἀραβίας λύκοι

in the eyes of his future subjects. The various confused stories of Leo cheating Maslama before and during the siege of 717 in fact become much more plausible if Leo indeed could speak the language, and was familiar with the customs of, the Arabs. If he was taken to Thrace in early boyhood, before or in 695, this is not very likely. However, if, as we have argued, Leo lived for some time in Muslim-ruled Mar'aš and spent his early life in eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus, his ability to deal skillfully with the Arab chieftains can be more easily explained.⁴

This is not the place to deal with all the details or the chronological

(*Nouveau*, ed. Melioranskij, p. XXXIX). I suspect that τῆς Ἀραβίας here has the same import as «Nabataean»; surely Constantine did not send Bedouins to apprehend the holy man! (In the long version of the *Passio* of the Martyrs of Jerusalem [see Appendix 3B], the use of the last metaphor does not involve this transferred significance: δραμόντες οἱ Ἀραβικοὶ λύκοι τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεόλεκτα πρόβατα κατεσπάραντων (p. 159, 23-24) invokes only the trite image of rapacious wolves and innocent sheep. The short, Greek version of the life of Stephen of Surož also mentions «the Arabian wolves» (καὶ πέμψας ὁ θῆρ λέων λύκους Ἀράβους συνασπίστας αὐτοῦ κτλ.). (ed. Vasilievskij, Труды, III, 75, 2-4). The iconoclasts were branded λύκοι Ἀραβικοὶ at Nicaea II (Mansi XIII 401D). On the etymologies of «Nabataean» cf. V. Christides, «The Names APABEE, ΣΑΡΑΚΗΝΟΙ etc. and Their False Byzantine Etymologies» BZ 65 (1972), p. 332. A propos Nabataean = bastard, the author does not cite Stephen of Byzantium, but only notes Eustathius of Thessalonica's (12th cent.) commentary on Dionysius Periegetes (ed. C. Müller, *Geographi graeci minores* II (1881). The passage in question (p. 384, l. 20-21: Ναβατῆς δὲ, φασίν, Ἀραβιστὶ ὁ ἐκ μοιχείας γενόμενος). is in fact taken from Stephen, at this point Eustathius' direct source.

⁴ The Kitāb al-'Uyūn puts some rather amusing words in Leo's mouth; it is a pity that there is little likelihood that they are the emperor's *ipseissima verba*. «And Leo used to meet Maslama in his position in Amorium, and argue and deal with him, by means of trickery and deception; at length he said, «Had Maslama been a female, and moreover had I wished to sleep with her, I would have done it, and he would not have ever refused me anything I wanted from him». وكان ليون يلقي مسلمة في مقامة في عمورية فيناظره ويعامله بالكر والخدع حتى قال لو كان مسلمة امرأة ثم شئت ان لفعل بها لفعلت وما كان يمتنع على قط في شيء اردت منه (ed. de Goeje, p. ٢٧).

I don't think that such, and other similar traditions would have arisen in the first place had Leo been compelled to carry out his devious dealings via an interpreter. The ninth-century author al-Mubarrad presents Leo as speaking both Arabic and Greek with some Muslim envoys (ed. W. Wright, *The Kāmil of El-Mubarrad* [Leipzig, 1864], p. ٢٩٥). On al-Mubarrad's works, see Brockelmann, GAL, I, p. 109.

difficulties connected with the siege of 717.⁵ However, there are among the allusions to, and stories about Leo's actions before and during the siege, some references which can throw light on his later iconoclastic policy. This portion of the material, therefore, will be examined with some care.

None of the Byzantine iconophile sources or the Muslim chronicles impute the failure of the siege to factors more occult than a combination of clever strategy and duplicity on Leo's part, coupled with Maslama's gullibility and inferior generalship. The Byzantine chroniclers, though of course they cannot entirely overlook Leo's capable leadership, are in particular careful not to make the course of events a sign of divine favor to Leo, or an occasion for resounding miracles; such of course would have implied a sanction of sorts for Leo's later impious campaign against the holy images. The naive growth of the Maslama legend in medieval Muslim historiography is of little concern to us here; these stories make Maslama the victor, but of course have to respect the plain fact that *al-Qustantiniyya* remained in Roman hands.⁶ At any rate, though for different reasons, both the Byzantine and the Muslim sources tend to minimize Leo's role in the siege of 717.⁷

Theophanes, though attributing, in very general terms, the salvation of the city to divine mercy and the intercession of the *Theotokos*,⁸ is

⁵ See R. Guiland, 'L'expédition de Maslama contre Constantinople', *Al-Machriq* 49 (1955), pp. 89-112 (reprinted in Guiland's *Études byzantines* [Paris, 1959], pp. 109-133); M. Canard, 'Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende', *Journal asiatique* 208 (1926), pp. 61-121. See also F. Gabrieli, 'L'eroe ommayyade Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik' in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 347 (1950), Ser. VIII, *Rendiconti, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, vol. V, pp. 22-39.

⁶ See Canard, *art. cit.*, pp. 94-102.

⁷ But, interestingly Tabari reports that Leo declared to an Arab envoy: 'We fight for religion' (نقاتل على الدين). But Leo was quite willing to bribe the enemy (عن كل رأس ديناراً نعطيكم) (ed. de Goeje, Ser. II, p. 131, l. 17, p. 131, l. 1).

In a similar tenor, the *Kitāb al-Uyūn* has Leo say to Sulaymān ibn Mu'ād: 'It seems true to me that in treachery to him [i.e. Maslama] is the edification of Christianity and the defense thereof is the best recompense' (*ta'wāb*, a technical term for the credit due to a good deed). انى تاوت ان فى الغدر به تشييد النصرانية والذب عنها افضل الثواب (ed. de Goeje, p. 29).

⁸ Some at least of the rare mentions of divine assistance can be attributed to the imperfect reworking of an iconoclastic source. In the first instance where Leo is given the surprising epithet *εὐσεβής* divine guidance is likewise emphasized. The Muslim fleet being surprised by a sudden calm, *ὁ δὲ εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς παραχρῆμα τὰς ἐμπόρους*

conspicuously silent about any actions the emperor and the clergy

ταὺς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκπέμφας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῇ θείᾳ συμμαχίᾳ πυρριλώτους αὐτὰς ἐποίησεν (I, 396, 7-10). In the second instance also, immediately upon the mention of heavenly aid called forth by the kind offices of the Virgin, the pious emperor carries through a successful naval stratagem *ἀλλὰ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν διεσκέδασεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς πανάγου θεοτόκου. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ἄλυσιν ἐκ τῶν Γαλάτου ὁ εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς μυστικῶς συνέστειλεν* (I, 396, 16-19). Anastasius, supported by one Greek MS, omits both mentions of the rather incongruous *εὐσεβής*; however, as a *lectio difficilior*, supported by the majority of the Greek witnesses, *εὐσεβής* should be retained. Uspenskij (*Ožerki I*, pp. 402-3) opposes some rather weak objections to the very reasonable suggestion of de Boor that Anastasius and codex *d* independently omitted *εὐσεβής*. Uspenskij argues: Theophanes could not be so careless as to leave *εὐσεβής* attached to the name of the future heretic; it would also be to unusual for Anastasius and the redactor of codex *d* to have hit upon the same excisions. These objections have little weight, compared with the grave difficulty of supposing that the pro-iconoclastic *εὐσεβής* was subsequently inserted into Theophanes' text; Uspenskij, however, does not even consider this. To support his contention that Anastasius was not 'anti-Leo' as would be implied by the omissions of *εὐσεβής*, Uspenskij introduces another passage. Theophanes says *ὅτι ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ παναγία παρθένος καὶ θεομήτωρ φρουροῦσαν τὴν πόλιν ταύτην καὶ τὸ τῶν χριστιανῶν βασίλειον* (I, 397, 31-398, 2). Anastasius renders this as 'quia deus et sanctissima virgo deique mater hanc munivit urbem et Christianorum imperatorem' (II, 257, 10-11). It seems that Anastasius' version, which presumes the wording *τὸν τῶν χριστιανῶν βασίλειον* (sc. Leo!) should be preferred; a later redactor of Theophanes' text changed it to the more neutral *τὸ τῶν χρ. βασιλείων*. Somewhat inconsequently, Uspenskij declares that, in his opinion, *basileion* was written by Theophanes, and Anastasius simply misread it as *basileia*. (See ch. I, n. 27 for a passage from Anastasius very hostile to Leo.)

It should be noted that for Theophanes, Leo does not become *δυσσεβής* only with the beginning of the iconoclastic measures; already in 720, in the account of the birth of Constantine, both father and son are graced by this epithet. (Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐτέχθη τῷ δυσσεβεῖ βασιλεῖ Λέοντι ὁ δυσσεβέστερος αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου πρόδρομος. [I, 399, 29-400, 1]). Anastasius omits the epithet for Leo (this time perhaps really by oversight) but retains it for Constantine (*natus est Leoni principi filius nomine Constantinus, qui magis illo impius fuit et Antichristi praecursor* [II, 258, 29-30]). However, Cedrenus, who quite closely follows Theophanes' text, supports the omission of *δυσσεβής*. Cedrenus says (ed. Bonn, I, 792, 3-4): *ἐτέχθη τῷ βασιλεῖ Λέοντι υἱὸς δυσσεβέστατος καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου πρόδρομος, Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Καβαλλῖνος*. Perhaps the text used by Cedrenus, like Anastasius', lacked the *δυσσεβής*, and he corrected the *δυσσεβέστατος*, which demands an antecedent *δυσσεβής*, to *δυσσεβέστατος*. On the whole, then, it seems that the earlier occurrences of *εὐσεβής* are simply due to Theophanes' lack of thoroughness in doctoring his sources; going further, perhaps at least some of the later instances of *δυσσεβής* actually correspond to an original *εὐσεβής* in the pro-iconoclastic *Urschrift*. However, to substantiate this last point, one would have to undertake a more detailed analysis of Theophanes' text, which is not now our aim.

Paul Alexander opts for a common iconophile source for Theophanes and the *Breviarium*, and does bring forth some examples which favor this alternative (*Nicephorus*,

may have taken to supplicate the Deity.⁹ The much more laconic narrative of Nicephorus does not mention any supernatural succor, but is very emphatic about the efficacy of the Greek fire.¹⁰ There are hagiographic accounts in which the city is saved by a miraculous image of the Virgin, but Leo plays a minor and inglorious role in the story.¹¹

The case is quite different with the Christian Arabic, Syriac and Armenian sources, Melkite and Jacobite.¹² These sources of course do not rival the Byzantine chronicles in accuracy about matters of chronology and dynasty succession; however, since they were not produced and transmitted subject to the censorship of the iconophile *Reichskirche*, some of these works do preserve, though often in legendary form, material favorable to Leo, and quite possibly derived from lost iconoclastic sources. In particular, Armenian chronicles give a very curious story, which could be classified as «iconoclastic hagio-

pp. 158-162). However, neither Alexander's, nor other discussions of this particular problem of source analysis are based on material as extensive as Uspenskij's treatment. There certainly is more than enough evidence, indicating an iconoclastic source, to warrant a thorough re-examination of Uspenskij's thesis. Such a re-examination, which would bring in much material from the period of Constantine V, lies outside the scope of the present study.

⁹ Immediately upon the reference to τὸ τῶν χριστιανῶν βασιλεῖον discussed in the preceding note, Theophanes makes a carefully de-personalized allusion to the efficacy of prayer: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐγκατάλειψις τελεία θεοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, εἰ καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ παιδευόμεθα διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν. (I, 398, 2-4). I suspect that this aside is Theophanes' own addition. For a pro-iconoclastic source, the grudging tone of οὐκ ἔστιν ἐγκατάλειψις τελεία would be singularly inappropriate; one would rather expect at this point, right after the great destruction of the Muslim fleet and the decisive failure of the siege, an allusion to some striking victory of the Israelites over the heathen (as is found in the Armenian accounts, and the poem of Theodosius presently to be discussed). But Theophanes of course already sees 717 as making possible the coming outbreak of the iconoclastic plague; hence his sober tone.

In the *Liber Pontificalis* Leo becomes merely a chronological datum in the ablative absolute when the siege of 717 is noted. «Illis interea diebus Constantihopoli biennio est a neo diceñdis Agarenis obsessa. Sed Deo eis contrario maxima illie eorum parte fame ac bello interempta confusi recesserunt, Leone principe.» (Ed. Duchesne, p. 402.) The writer of the *Liber* also already has in mind that «post paucos dies claruit malitia imperatoris» (p. 409).

¹⁰ *Bevriarum*, ed. de Boor, 54, 5-19.

¹¹ See Appendix 3B.

¹² The Nestorian literature, Syriac and Arabic, does not mention, to my knowledge, any of these events in Byzantium. The Nestorian chronicler Elias of Nisibis does mention Leo's persecution of the Jews. See ch. VI, n. 19. In Appendix 3B, a Palestinian hagiographic text, favorable to Leo, written in Syriac but extant only in Greek, is discussed.

graphy»; it presents Leo during the siege of 717 as a veritable Moses *redivivus*, who causes the infidel to drown by the power of the Cross. To the analysis of these accounts we shall now turn.

The incident is first given by the eleventh-century historian Stephen of Tarōn; the reviser of the eighth-century history of Lewond adapted and elaborated this account from Stephen. The episode then is mentioned, in a more summary fashion, by the later chroniclers Vardan and Mxit'ar of Ayrvank', who are all ultimately dependent on Stephen.¹³ It is not clear whence Stephen obtained the story. It has no «Armenian» aspects, which would provoke a tendentious reworking of the material, so common in medieval Armenian historiography; therefore, one cannot straightway dismiss it as pure fabrication. Though the story was doubtless very much elaborated in the early stages of its assimilation into the Armenian tradition, it depends, quite possibly, on a pro-iconoclastic, Byzantine account of the siege of 717, written to glorify the emperor.

The earliest account, Stephen's, is partially translated and analyzed at some length in Appendix 1A. In short, the story goes thus: upon the emperor Leo's refusal to pay tribute, the caliph Hišām¹⁴ sends

¹³ The detailed tracing of this dependence, which involves the comparison of the text of the several Armenian chronicles, is relegated to Appendix 1A.

¹⁴ Stephen puts the siege, quite wrongly, in Hišām's caliphate (724-43). The reviser, of Lewond, though perhaps equally ignorant of the true chronology of the events, makes the lesser error of putting it in Yazid II's reign (720-24). The siege, of course took place under Sulaymān and 'Umar II; however, the Armenian tradition, strangely enough, accepted the favorable valuation of the «pious» 'Umar, so prevalent in the Muslim sources; therefore, this resounding defeat is debited to one of his evil successors. I don't see a need to salvage Stephen's chronology by putting the event in the second campaign of Maslama (Dölger, *Regesten*, I, p. 36 [No. 297]). In this campaign, according to Theophanes, Maslama was only engaged in land operations in Cappadocia (I, 404, 14-15). If one insists on putting Stephen's story in Hišām's reign, a better choice would be the siege of Nicaea in 726/27; but though naval operations are more easily envisaged for this Bithynian campaign, Theophanes explicitly places it after Maslama's death, and that it was led by 'Ameq and Mavias (I, 405, 25-30). However, it is probably a misplaced effort to seek close chronological correspondence between the Byzantine sources and the late Armenian chronicles, which for such details simply cannot be used. The chronicler Moses Kalankatuaci even puts the great Arab naval attack on Constantinople in Theophilus' reign (ed. Tiflis, p. 377). Though in this version the emperor does not perform any spectacular piece of weather magic, the account does conclude with the words: «These grievous defeats of the Arabs took place due to the great power of the vivifying cross of Christ» (Այս եղև մեծ դժբախտութեանք Կենդանու խաչին քրիստոսի Հարուածք և Թմամեծք Տաճկաց:)

his general Maslama to conquer Constantinople. Maslama surrounds the city and sends to Leo an insulting demand for surrender. The emperor, accompanied by the patriarch and the populace, beseeches the Deity at length in Saint Sophia. After several days of fasting and prayer, the emperor, carrying a cross, leads a procession to the sea; he invokes the name of the Savior, and strikes the water with the cross. Immediately a great storm is raised and destroys the Muslim army and fleet. Among the few survivors of the shipwreck is Maslama himself. He is brought before Leo; the emperor magnanimously releases him. Maslama returns home in bitter shame and never again goes to war.¹⁵

The next version, incorporated in the expanded version of Lewond's history, fancifully elaborates both the narrative details and the set speeches. For instance, the short message of Leo to Maslama is equipped with additional *défis* and scriptural quotations; the shipwrecked Arabs come to such straits that they have to devour not only their horses and mules, but also their servants and concubines! Maslama is made to deliver a long oration before he is dismissed by the emperor. There seems to be little doubt, however, that the editor of Lewond took the basic narrative directly from Stephen. Vardan and Mxit'ar give laconic notices, dependent on Stephen, not on the revised edition of Lewond.¹⁶ The only independent account, whence some historical

¹⁵ Sebēos, in his *History* (ed. Patkanean, St. Petersburg, 1871) recounts the dispatch of a letter from Mu'awiya to Constantine III (Constans II) on the occasion of an Arab siege of Constantinople (pp. 144-47). The event in question can only be the great siege of 674-78, during the reign of Constantine IV; it seems to me that the monophysite Sebēos, by accident or design, incorporated a story about the pro-Chalcedonian Constantine IV into the history of his predecessor. Constans' reign was in fact marked by several naval defeats (J. Kaestner, *De Imperio Constantini III* [Leipzig, 1906], pp. 35-37, 46-47). The emperor's pious reliance on divine aid against the insolence of the infidel, and the providential dispersal of the Arab fleet by a severe storm are described in much detail. This account which is repeated, with some changes, in Stephen's chronicle, in all likelihood provided several elements for Stephen's own story about Leo and Maslama; however the miracle of the cross is missing from Sebēos' account, and in my view, goes back to an eighth-century Byzantine source. It is noteworthy that in Theophanes the saving of the city in 678, during the reign of Constantine IV, is simply ascribed to the Theotokos (ed. de Boor, I, 354, 6); there is no parallel to Sebēos' story of the imperial saint. However here no obvious orthodox Byzantine theological bias is involved, since it was under Constantine IV's aegis that the council of 680/81 restored dyothelite orthodoxy. Theophanes simply did not have this material available, which Sebēos, we have just argued, wrongly attached to the monothelite Constans' reign.

¹⁶ They both put the episode in Hishām's reign, not in Yazid's, as does pseudo-Lewond.

details may be still recoverable, is thus Stephen's; some aspects of his version will, therefore, be looked at more closely.

The most obvious feature is, of course, the unqualified glorification of Leo: his Christian piety and humility in contrast to the insolence of the Saracen, his extended supplications for his people, and, above all, the pointed and repeated parallel drawn between the miracle and the crossing of the Red Sea impress one immediately. Leo has all the virtues of the warrior saint: he resists the infidel with invincible resolution, relies with firm faith on the Divinity in the hour of need, gives all the glory to Him in victory, is merciful to the defeated foe. These details, I think, can only come from a *Byzantine* source, highly favorable to Leo. One could speculate further, and suppose that it gained currency as part of the pro-Chalcedonian and pro-Byzantine propaganda spread by the «Greek» faction in Armenia, a strategic buffer state between the empire and the caliphate. At any rate, the original Byzantine source is, of course, no longer extant, and for the episode the later writers are dependent only on Stephen's work.

Though the account even as it stands is highly interesting, as we have already said, as an extant monument of «iconoclastic hagiography», some details, not found in the other accounts of the siege, are possibly historical and perhaps of help in gauging Leo's character in the period prior to the outbreak of iconoclasm.

It is quite likely that Maslama wrote to Leo inviting him to submit to the Commander of the Faithful;¹⁷ the text of the missive, however, as given by Stephen an pseudo-Lewond, deserves no credence.¹⁸

¹⁷ According to the Muslim *fiqh*, the launching of the *jihād* must be preceded by an invitation to the enemy to accept Islam; hostilities can only commence if this invitation is rejected. (See M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore, 1955, pp. 96-97).) According to some jurists, the invitation can be renewed even after fighting has begun; thus a letter from the caliph 'Umar himself, after one from Maslama, when he was under the walls of the city, could quite possibly have reached Leo. Theophanes puts the dispatch of 'Umar's letter after the siege (I, 399, 29-26). It seems that 'Umar became caliph while the siege was still in progress (Guilland, *art. cit.*, p. 100); so his «enthronization letter», so to speak, could be classified as a «renewed invitation» in the context of the *jihād*. There is no mention of Sulaymān sending a letter to the imperial authorities prior to the commencement of the campaign, in the Greek sources at any rate; Stephen of Tarōn does relate the caliph 'Heṣm's demand for tribute (see above, p. 134). Of course, in spite of the occasional truces, the holy war against Byzantium was pursued continuously ever since the Prophet's days.

¹⁸ The formulas of Muslim capitulation demands are discussed in connection with the Leo-'Umar correspondence; see below, p. 163.

Nonetheless, the supposed emphasis of Leo, in his reply, on the victorious power of the cross, is quite in accord with the praise of the Cross in the iconoclastic iambs which we shall discuss later.¹⁹ At any rate, the account may have preserved, in a highly fanciful form, the memory of a genuine exchange of letters before the commencement of the blockade.

The picture of the emperor, supplicating the Deity, together with the patriarch, the clergy, and the populace, is again highly credible, with abundant parallels from other sieges of the city.²⁰ It should be noted that Theophanes would have been loath to incorporate a story of the *Leo orans*, even if it was available to him, as putting the emperor in too favorable a light and bringing him into too close «ecclesiastical» association with the saintly Germanus.²¹ Obviously, from the view-

¹⁹ See below, pp. 113 ff.

²⁰ Pseudo-Lewond explicitly compares the suppliant emperor, praying before the Lord in the beleaguered city, to the pious Hezekiah (*wwwθh mkwnh, nhw θwawhθhw hqhhtw, nhz wnhhnh qwqhwhhwh hhrnnhθh hphhzhn mhpn*), etc. (p. 107). But, since the simile is not made by Stephen, pseudo-Lewond's source, it is to be attributed to pseudo-Lewond's rhetorical proclivities and most probably did not stand in the original source. A comparison of Leo to Hezekiah, the doughty opponent of idolatry in Israel, who broke the brazen serpent, would be highly significant in a document written perhaps at direct imperial suggestion. Cf. ch. VI, n. 38.

²¹ Theophanes refrains from saying that Leo was crowned by Germanus; perhaps he felt that such an action should not be attributed to the clairvoyant patriarch who supposedly detected the hidden evil in the babe Constantine. Theophanes emphasizes that Constantine was crowned by his father: *Τούτω τῷ ἔτει ... τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πάχα, ἐστεφθε Κωνσταντῖνος ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ* (I, 401, 9-10). Somewhat suspiciously, Germanus is nonetheless present, more or less as a neutral bystander (τοῦ μακαρίου Γερμανοῦ τοῦ πατριάρχου ποιήσαντος τὰς πρὸς συνήθειαν εὐχάς. [401, 11-12]). The parallel account in Nicephorus makes the more plausible statement that Germanus crowned Constantine at Leo's bidding, if I read the text correctly. *προσκαλεῖται Γερμανὸν τὸν τηλικαῦτα ἀρχιερεῖα ... στεφεῖ τὸν υἱὸν Κωνσταντῖνον εἰς βασιλεῖα*. (*Breviarium*, 56, 28-57, 4). Though as the text stands, the grammatical subject of *στεφεῖ* is Leo, the syntax is loose; by emending *στεφεῖ* to *στεφεῖν* (as the editor suggests), the syntax is made more consequent: Leo summoned Germanus in order to crown his son Constantine. At any rate, Nicephorus takes no pains to underline the passive nature of Germanus' participation in the ceremony. In his brief mention of Leo's coronation, (*Breviarium* 52, 23-26) Nicephorus does not explicitly say that Germanus crowned Leo. Though there is no parallel passage in Nicephorus to control this conjecture, I suspect that when earlier Theophanes says that *Μαρία, ἡ γυνὴ Λέοντος, ἐστεφθε ἐν τῷ τρικλινεῖ τοῦ Αὐγουστῆως* (I, 400, 2-3), he again omits the fact that Germanus performed the ceremony. The very introduction of Germanus' woeful prophecy at the subsequent baptism of Constantine (I, 400, 7-14) seems to be the chronicler's device for justifying even this minor col-

point of the iconophile chroniclers, the prayers of a heretic would not be answered, even though the Deity may use him as an instrument of His will.²² It is quite natural, however, to suppose that the emperor and the people would have beseeched the Deity at such a black hour; in this Armenian source at least we have some documentary evidence to support this conjecture.

The same reasoning imposes itself in an even clearer manner for the central miracle of the story. Naturally, the iconophile sources, though they may have grudgingly admitted the military prowess of the iconoclastic emperors, would not have included, even in an attenuated form, such an account. However, there may well be a kernel of

laboration of the saint with the heretics-to-be; the story itself, that the pious Germanus, in the presence of the entire court, publicly maligned the heir to the throne, is quite implausible. Apparently, Theophanes felt that Germanus should be allowed to perform the purely sacerdotal and quite irreprehensible action of baptizing the future heresiarch (with the appropriate safeguard of the *vaticinium ex eventu*), but that it would be fitting to make the patriarch actually legitimize Constantine's imperial tyranny by performing the coronation. In fact, it is more likely that Leo, Maria and Constantine were all duly crowned by Germanus. Theophanes' whole presentation of the patriarch, though skillfully constructed, is unhistorical and is subservient to the apologetic aim of showing that Germanus was never an accomplice of the *δυσεβῆς Λέων*. Quite interestingly, Zonaras, in reworking Theophanes' account, carries this tendentious presentation even further: *Leo* crowns Maria, and (himself?) baptizes Constantine; Germanus merely makes his prophecy upon observing (presumably from a distance) the infant's ominous disrespect for the sanctity of the baptismal font. *Ἐτέχθη δὲ τῷ Λέοντι σκύμος ὁμότερος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῇ τε μητέρᾳ τούτου κεκλημένην Μαρίαν Ἰστέφην ὁ Λέων καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐβάπτισεν, Κωνσταντῖνον ὀνομάσας αὐτόν. ὅτε λέγεται κόμπρον αὐτὸν ἐκκρίνει τῇ θεῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ καταδύμενον, κἀντέθεν ἐπονομασθῆναι Κοπράνιμον, καὶ τὸν ἀγιώτατον Γερμανὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι «σημαῖον τοῦτό ἐστι· τοῦ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβεῖν ἡρημένους μέγα τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο χρηματῖσαι κακόν».* (ed. Bonn, III 255, 12-256, 6). Cedrenus, in another epitome of Theophanes, somewhat incongruously juxtaposes Leo and Germanus at Constantine's coronation (... *ἐστεφθε Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Καβαλλῖνος ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τριβουναλίῳ, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Γερμανοῦ*. (ed. Bonn, I, 793, 3-5). The anonymous Bruxelles chronicle, apparently an eleventh century work, does say that Leo was crowned by Germanus *ἐστεφθε δὲ ἐν <τῷ> Τριβουναλίῳ ὑπὸ Γερμανοῦ π(α)τριάρχου* (ed. F. Cumont, *Anecdota Bruxellensia* I [Gand, 1894], p. 31, l. 18-19). Also, according to the story of the Roman icon of the Virgin, Leo was crowned by Germanus (ed. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (TU 18, Leipzig 1893), p. 244 **): ... *Λέων ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐξ Ἰσωνίας καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ διάδημα τῆς βασιλείας εὐλογίᾳ καὶ χειρὶ τοῦ θεολόγου Γερμανοῦ* (lines 10-12). This text is dated by von Dobschütz to the 11th century (BZ 12 (1903), p. 176).

²² Cf. above notes 8, 9.

truth in it. The ceremony of the immersion of the relics of the True Cross was practiced in Byzantium even before the eighth century.²³ To present here a full dossier of the well-known « triumphal » associations of the cross, and the use of the relics of the True Cross as *palladia* is not necessary.²⁴ The accounts do not explicitly assert that the cross Leo carried was a reliquary.²⁵ Stephen's text says that the emperor carried the « standard of the cross » ((*ἡ ζωὴ ἡ ζωή*)).²⁶ Vardan vaguely says that the infidel perished « by the power of Christ's cross » (*ἡ ἁγία ζωὴ ἡ ζωή*); Mxit'ar uses a similar expression. Pseudo-Lewond does make Maslama vow, in his letter, to break the wood of the cross (*ἡ ζωὴ ἡ ζωή*) over the emperor's head; but it is especially on such details that his testimony cannot be given much credence. At any rate, the various versions concur in saying the emperor in person, truly as *βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς*, carried the cross to the sea, pronounced the incantation, and struck the waters with the cross: The details may not have been transmitted faithfully; however, the underlying story of Leo as chief hierophant, with the patriarch and the populace in tow, conjuring the elements, is quite credible. The dispersal of the Muslim fleet is reported by Theophanes; what we seem to have here is an *ex eventu* linking of an authentic, time-honored ceremony with the seemingly miraculous storm that followed its performance. The added « material causes » of the Greek fire and the desertion of the Egyptian sailors from the Muslim fleet

²³ Frolow, *Vraie Croix*, p. 196 (No. 68); *Synax. CP*, col. 856, 14-33. I don't think there is any echo of the Armenian ceremony of consecrating crosses by washing them with water and wine. See S. Der Nersessian, « Image Worship in Armenia », *Armenian Quarterly* 1 (1946), pp. 76, 80 for references to this rite. But there may be a liturgical connection with the two-week long procession of the cross around the City, during late July and August, a feast described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (PG 112, 1005-1010). Cf. P. Bernardakis, « Le culte de la croix chez les grecs » EO 5 (1901-2), pp. 260-61.

²⁴ See e.g. Frolow, *op. cit.*, p. 183 (No. 38), p. 189 (No. 53).

²⁵ It is tempting to speculate that Leo carried the very same *σταυροθήκη* that the pilgrim Aroulf saw in Hagia Sophia (ca. 670 A.D.). Cf. Frolow, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-195 (No. 66).

²⁶ The *Nor Bargirk'* (vol. 2, p. 433, col. 3) notes the equivalence of *ἡ ζωὴ* to *σημεῖον*, *τύπος* as well as *σημαῖον* or *signum victoriae*, but does not single out for comment the expression *ἡ ζωὴ ἡ ζωή*. Ciakciak, *Dizionario* (p. 1077, col. 3), notes *ἡ ζωὴ ἡ ζωή* but simply equates it to « La Santa Croce ». More precisely, it seems that the phrase corresponds to *τύπος τοῦ σταυροῦ*, common in the Byzantine literature.

were of course not mentioned by Stephen's source, which simply used the genre and tried devices of Byzantine hagiography.²⁷

There is also extant a Greek iambic poem, attributed to one Theodosius ὁ Γραμματικός, which celebrates the deliverance of Constantinople from the Arabs in 717. From the viewpoint of chronology, this work ought to be discussed here. However, since several of our arguments depend on stylistic and ideological resemblances of the poem with the eighth-century iambics preserved by Theodore the Studite, the analysis of Theodosius' work will be taken up only after the discussion of these iconoclastic fragments.²⁸

²⁷ As with much other hagiographic literature, the historical residue is perhaps of less importance than the insight gained into the mentality of the period. It is, of course, interesting to find this added evidence about the events of 717; but more significant for the study of iconoclastic motivations is that Leo may have commissioned the production of such a piece of propaganda literature. It is of little moment whether Leo actually imitated his Old Testament paradigms during his conduct of the defense of the city; we saw that other sources paint him as an unscrupulous Ulysses of sorts. Much more important is that, after the siege, as evidenced by the original of Stephen's account, Leo should have wanted to present himself in such a light. Cf. below, Appendix 3B, p. 189.

²⁸ See below, Appendix 3A.

CHAPTER V

THE LEO-UMAR CORRESPONDENCE

The next episode of interest in sketching out the antecedents of early iconoclasm is the exchange of letters between Leo and the caliph 'Umar II.¹ Theophanes merely notes that 'Umar wrote to Leo, to convince the emperor of the truth of Islam; he does not say that Leo answered the letter but, rather, by this silence, seemingly wants to convey the impression that Leo, as later unmasked by his iconoclastic policies, has indeed turned « Agarene ».² Cedrenus simply abbreviates Theophanes;³ Zonaras, in his adaptation of Theophanes' text, omits any mention of the letter.

The oriental sources make the correspondence much less one-sided. The tenth-century Arabic Melkite chronicler Agapius of Manbij⁴ gives a short, balanced account; it is not impossible that Agapius, who had access to Greek sources, has actually preserved the notice which Theophanes gives in a censored form. Agapius says :

And he [Umar] wrote the king Leo to invite him to Islam, and moreover he argued about his religion. Thereupon, Leo answered him, overcame his argument, expounded to him the incorrectness of his statement, and elucidated

¹ Cf. ch. IV, n. 17.

² Οὐμαρ ... μαγαρίζειν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἠνάγκαζεν · ... ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν δογματικὴν πρὸς Λέοντα τὸν βασιλέα οἰόμενος πείσειν αὐτὸν τοῦ μαγαρίσαι. (I, 399, 21-26). Theophanes, in his truncated notice, does want to leave the impression that Leo was converted by 'Umar's arguments. However, Schenk, who does not know that there are other independent attestations of the correspondence, is wrong to claim that the whole story was invented to justify the iconophile charge that Leo was *σαρακηνόφρων*. (BZS [1896], p. 277, note 2.)

³ Ἐγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Λέοντα τοῦ μαγαρίσαι καὶ αὐτόν. (ed. Bonn, I, 792, 1'2). By the way, *μαγαρίζειν* came to mean « to soil, to befoul one's self », and thus took on the extended meaning of « in religione foedari, maxime Agarenorum religionem profiteri, amplecti » (Ducange, *Glossarium*, col. 839). (The word seems to have been borrowed from the Syriac *ܡܗܓܪܝܐ*, mahgrāyā (= « Muslim », or « Hagarene », with no pejorative connotations, cf. Payne-Smith, I, 971, s.v. *ܡܗܓܪܝܐ*). The unfavorable meaning attached to the term appears to be peculiar to Byzantine Greek.)

⁴ On Agapius (Mahbūb) see Graf, GCAL, II, pp. 39-40.

to him the light of Christianity, by means of arguments from the revealed books, compared with reason and the tendencies of the Qur'ān.⁵

One can easily see why an account of such tenor could not be included in the iconophile source. The ninth-century Muslim writer al-Mubarrad also mentions a letter that was written by Leo to 'Umar, on the occasion of an embassy from the caliph.⁶ Agapius does not record the effect of the response on 'Umar; of course, most probably, neither letter had the least success. It is quite likely, however, that Leo's refutation of the caliph's letter was circulated widely in the empire. Apologetic literature of this sort, often spiced with choice tidbits from the *histoire scandaleuse* of the Prophet, was later very popular among the Byzantines.⁷

وكتب الى لاون الملك كتابا يدعوه فيه الى الاسلام ثم جادله في دينه فاجابه لاون جوابا قطع فيه حجته وأوضح له فساد قوله وبين له نور النصرانية بحجج من الكتب المنزلة ومقاييس من العقول ونوازع (وكتب ... الاسلام) in (ed. Vasiliev, p. 503, 1-3). The first clause in particular corresponds to *ἔγραψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Λέοντα οἰόμενος πείσειν αὐτόν τοῦ μαγαρίσαι*, with the one polite substitution — natural on the part of a writer living under Muslim rule — of « inviting him to Islam » for *μαγαρίζειν*. More faithful equivalents of *μαγαρίζειν* would be, I suppose, *وسخ* or *نجس*, though I don't know whether the metaphorical use of either is attested in Christian Arabic.

⁵ Kāmil, ed. W. Wright (Leipzig, 1864), p. 000 line 14. The theological disputation between Leo and the Muslim envoys does not mention images but has much interesting material of a Christological nature. I am greatly indebted to Prof. Irfan Shahid for his help in translating this intriguing and difficult passage. Cf. p. 50, note 111.

⁷ See, for instance, the letter attributed to Arethas, *πρὸς τὸν ἐν Δαμασκῷ ἄμεινον* (ed. P. Karlin-Hayter, Byz 29/30 [1959/60]), pp. 293-302, esp. p. 297. (On the question of authorship, see A. A. Vasiliev - M. Canard, *Byzance et les arabes*, T. II, 1 [Bruxelles, 1963], pp. 411-420). Some of the arguments are very much *ad hominem*. « Ἄρα οὖν τὴν κόπρον ὑμῶν ἐκείνην ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ ἐκβάλλετε ; καὶ εἰ πάντες Σαρακενοὶ ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ ὄντες ἀποκοπρίζουσι, πῶς οὐχὶ ἐν ἁλίῳ καιρῷ γεμίζουσι τὸν παραδείσον κόπρου » ; (p. 301). One suspects that such asides were designed less to convert the earnest Muslim seeking after truth than to provide entertainment for an appreciative Byzantine public. A. Abel notes that « cette délicate plaisanterie » is also found in Nicetas Choniates, in *Haeresis* 101 (attributed to John of Damascus), and in Euthymius Zigabenus (« La lettre polémique „d'Aréthas“ à l'émir de Damas », Byz 24 [1964], p. 369, n. 1). The Muslim theologians were aware of this little problem; according to a ḥadīth, the inhabitants of Paradise will have risen above all such bodily needs. See W. Eichner, « Die Nachrichten über den Islam bei der Byzantinern », *Der Islam* 23 (1936), p. 214. Georgius Hamartolus, interestingly, claims that in the Muslim paradise the Samaritans are supposed to be responsible for the sanitary duties : « τοὺς Σαμαρείτας ἔφη πρὸς τὸ τὰ

The Armenian chronicles also preserve, independently of the version attested by Agapius, the tradition of the correspondence.⁹ The earliest account is found in Thomas Armeri (early tenth century). According to Thomas, 'Umar was actually converted by the imperial missive; though ashamed to reject Islam publicly, he showed thenceforth great favor to the Christians. The short notice in Kirakos of Ganjak (thirteenth century) seems to depend directly on Thomas. Pseudo-Lewond not only narrates at length the story of the correspondence but also gives a very extensive text purporting to reproduce both letters. It appears fairly certain that for the narrative he is dependent on Thomas. The text of Leo's letter is derived from an Armenian original, and has anachronistic allusions which put the final redaction at any rate in the tenth century or later. 'Umar's letter, so-called, is merely a secondary compilation of those Muslim arguments that Leo's letter cites, not an independent document. The notice in the chronicle of Vardan (a contemporary of Kirakos) gives a quotation from pseudo-Lewond, and thus provides a *terminus ante quem* for the latter work.

There is extant also a Latin text which purports to be the translation of Leo's letter to 'Umar. In Appendix 2 it is argued that this work is in fact a revision of a Melkite polemical tract, written probably originally in Arabic, which somehow came to be identified as the lost letter of Leo. Though interesting as a relic of Syrian Christian literature, it has no relevance for the study of Byzantine iconoclasm.

In brief, then, though the actual text of the Leo-'Umar correspondence is seemingly lost, the fact that an exchange of letters did take place is quite certain. Agapius' notice, which is free from both the anti-iconoclastic bias of the Byzantine chroniclers and the fanciful elaborations of the Armenian tradition, is probably as much as one can now say about the letters with any assurance. Of course, there is no need to suppose that Leo personally dictated the letter.

Doubtless, the answer to the caliph's missive was prepared by the imperial secretaries, with the collaboration of the emperor's

ἐκφάρια καὶ τὴν κόπρον αὐτῶν τοῦ παραδείσου ἀποβάλλειν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἐποχίσσεν ὁ παράδεισος ... (ed. de Boor, II, 701, 23 - 702, 2).

⁹ The relation of the various Armenian accounts is discussed in detail in Appendix 1A. The Leo-'Umar correspondence is analyzed at length in Appendix 2. Only the results of these investigations will be presented here.

ecclesiastical advisors,¹⁰ though, naturally, in accordance with Leo's wishes and directives.¹¹

At any rate, Leo did commission the writing of an anti-Muslim apology, and probably took good care that his new role as literary *defensor fidei* should become known among his own subjects, as well as among Christians under Arab rule. The siege of 717 marked the high tide of Arab advance. Thereafter, the Byzantines gradually went back on the offensive; Leo's first years of rule mark the beginning of the Byzantine military recovery. It appears likely that this warfare was accompanied by a rudimentary propaganda campaign; in Leo's letter, we seem to have some evidence for such literary activity.¹¹

⁹ There is no need to assume that the patriarch Germanus had a share in drafting the letter. Germanus was not greatly preoccupied with Islam; at least there are no anti-Muslim polemics of his known, except for some passing comments in his correspondence.

¹⁰ It would be interesting to know whether 'Umar's letter was communicated in Arabic or in a Greek version prepared by some Syrian scribe at the caliph's court. Whether or not Leo's linguistic capabilities were needed in translating 'Umar's letter, it could well be that the proof-texts from the Qur'an were his own contribution to the reply. A knowledge of Arabic, which Leo most probably did possess, was a rare thing, one suspects, in eighth century Constantinople. (By the middle of the ninth century, renewed contacts with the caliphate seem to have led to the regular maintenance of corps of Arabic interpreters [see Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 321]; there is no evidence for such in Leo's reign. However, one should not unduly underestimate the existence of bilingualism in this period. Cf. al-Tanūki's story, translated by M. Canard [Les aventures d'un prisonnier arabe et d'un patricien byzantin à l'époque des guerres bulgare-byzantines, DOP 9/10 (1956), p. 51 ff]. The proficiency in Greek and Arabic of both the captive and the patrician [p. 54] is a noteworthy detail, and may well have a foundation in fact. That the patrician imbibed Arabic, Greek, Kurdish, Latin, Slavonic and Khazar literally with his nurses' milk [p. 56] is more questionable. For other instances of bilingual frontier dwellers, see M. Canard, Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes, DOP 18 (1964), p. 45.)

¹¹ The earlier version of the *passio* of the Jerusalem martyrs (see Appendix 3B) shows that there was a ready audience among the restive Christians of Syria and Palestine for pro-Byzantine, anti-Muslim propaganda. This hagiographic text presents Leo as the pious leader of all Christians, and shows undisguised hatred for the Arab tyrants. Not all Syrian Christians were as loyal to the caliphate as John of Damascus.

CHAPTER VI

THE ECLOGA

Thus far, it has been necessary to depend on indirect testimony in gathering the relevant pre-iconoclastic evidence. However, in the Ecloga, a document of impeccable credentials, we may well have an accurate reflection of Leo's own views on imperial authority. The «theological» preamble of the Ecloga, although it does not mention the question of image-worship, provides a most informative glimpse into the emperor's views on «church and state», at the very threshold of the iconoclastic struggle.¹ Therefore, before we turn to the first

¹ Scholarly consensus seems to be converging on the 726 date. (See Ostrogorsky, *History*, p. 152, note 5.) It should be recalled that, though the MS evidence is unanimous in giving «March of the ninth indiction», there is considerable variation in the *Annus Mundi* (D. Ginis, «Das Promulgationsjahr der isaurischen Ecloga», BZ 24 [1923/24], pp. 347-48). A recently discovered manuscript, which contains diverse legal material, including the Ecloga, gives, in addition to the date $\chi\omicron\lambda\delta'$ (= 726 A.D.), the more precise indication that this code was published in the seventh regnal year of Leo and Constantine (D.S. Ginis, (Γκινίς), «Ο ὅτι ἀριθ. 121 κώδικε τῆς μονῆς Ἀγ. Νικάνορος (Ζάβορδας) καὶ δύο χρονολογίαι τῆς Ἐκλογῆς τῶν Ἰσαυρῶν καὶ τοῦ Προχέλρου Νόμου» ΕΕΒΕ 30 [1960/61], pp. 353-54). On the basis of this new evidence, V. Grumel has sought to establish the very day of the year 726 on which the code was promulgated. (Incidentally, earlier Grumel was an advocate of the 741 date [EO 34 (1935), p. 327 ff.]) Now Grumel argues in the following fashion. Constantine was crowned on Easter of 720 [τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πάχα, Theophanes, I, 401, 9]; Easter in that year fell on March 31 (H. Lietzmann - K. Aland, *Zeitrechnung* [Berlin, 1956], p. 33). Therefore, the other days of March fell in the sixth regnal year. Grumel then concludes that the edict necessarily was promulgated on the 31st of March, the only day in the month which fell in the seventh regnal year, and a day, moreover, which commemorated the coronation of Constantine. (V. Grumel, «La date de l'Eclogue des Isauriens», REB 21 [1963], pp. 272-74.) It seems, however, that in addition to ignoring the difficulties of Theophanes' chronology for the period, Grumel attributes too much importance to the witness of one manuscript, which certainly is not any older than the late ninth century. The addition of the «seventh regnal year» could simply be due to a copyist who read Theophanes. But the date of March 726 is most probably correct, even though there is no chronological reference in the text of the Ecloga itself.

Though it is easy to fall into the error of circular reasoning in a case like this, I think that the preface of the Ecloga suits best the early years of Leo's reign, by its «programmatic» and optimistic tone, and the lack of any reference to the deadly hatreds excited by the imperial iconoclastic commitment. The confident tenor is much more consonant

concrete indications of iconoclasm in Asia Minor, which may slightly antedate the publication of this law-code, the witness of the Ecloga will be analyzed.² The enactments themselves, mostly dealing with matters of civil law, will not primarily concern us here.³ The question of whether the code indeed represents a «philanthropic» advance compared with the harshness of the Justinianic legislation, or is a regression from Roman mores to barbaric and oriental practices also

with a young *basileus*, still flushed with the victory of 717, who has not yet been confronted with the uprisings of 726 and 727. (To be sure, Leo did have to overcome earlier the rebellion of the Silician *strategos* Sergius, in 717-718. Theophanes I, 398). Incidentally, the 726 date, of course, implies that the name of Constantine appears purely *pro forma*; this would not necessarily be the situation in the case of a late dating, for which, e.g., Scheltema opts (C.M.H., Vol. IV, pt. 2, p. 62). In this event, the Ecloga preface would not be a manifesto of the new dynasty, but a reiteration of its determination, in spite of all resistance, to make the divine will prevail. One could then argue that the Ecloga shows the intentions of the young co-emperor Constantine, perhaps already *locum tenens* of his aged father. However, on the whole, I think the evidence concurs best with an early date. I hope to be able to take up the question of the continuity of the policies of Leo and Constantine in a later work.

² Text in C. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Collectio Librorum Juris Graeco-Romani Ineditorum* (Leipzig, 1852), pp. 9-52, based on sixteen MSS and Leunclavius' *editio princeps*. A. G. Monferratus, *Ecloga Leonis et Constantini* (Athens, 1889), published the original text of 18 τίτλοι, plus appendices, from another sixteenth century MS in the Athens library. Monferratus, in his edition, follows the astonishing procedure of merely referring to Zachariä's eclectic text instead of collating the new MS with all the readings given in Zachariä's *apparatus criticus*. Here Zachariä's edition will be used; any notable variants from the Athens MS will be indicated (siglum *Ath*). Ε. Э. Липшиц (E. E. Lipšic) *Эклога, византийский законодательный свод VIII века* (Moscow, 1965) gives a translation and commentary. C. A. Spulber (*L'Eclogue des Isauriens* [Cernautzi, 1929]) reprints Zachariä's text, with a translation and good commentary.

³ The code does laconically prescribe capital punishment for magicians as well as «Manichees and Montanists» (pp. 50, 51. Cf. note 161). But section IV of the Appendix to the Ecloga (Πινάκιος κατὰ αἰρετικῶν, μανιχαίων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν αἵρέσεων καὶ κατὰ ἐπαισιδῶν καὶ φαρμακῶν, *Ath*, pp. 64-68, does not seem to come from the eighth century. The detailed list of heresies (p. 66) indicates a late fourth or early fifth century provenance; Nestorians, Monophysites and Muslims are not mentioned, in contrast to the various Gnostic and Manichaean sects named which did flourish at that period. At the latest, one should put it in Justinian's reign (the Origenist *τετραδίται* are mentioned; however, this term was earlier applied to other heretics (see Lampe, s.v.)); but the list definitely does not reflect the religious situation of the early eighth century. Incidentally this appendix gives a somewhat uninformative definition of heresy: «Αἰρετικός δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν ὑπόκειται νόμος ὁ μικρὸν γοῦν ἐκκλίνων τῆς ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως» (p. 64). The stringent legislations against magicians (γόγρες) in Section VI of the Appendix (pp. 69-73) also appears to be of early provenance. It should be noted that all this material is embedded in explicit citations from the Justinianic legislation.

lies beyond our purview.⁴ However, the prologue to the code does afford considerable insight into the religious and political aims of the new dynasty, and thus deserves a closer look.⁵

The *incipit* of the preamble places the new legislation under the aegis of the triune Deity;⁶ then it continues by positing that *law*, *νόμος*, is indeed the necessary adjunct of the God-given freedom of *MINI*.

Our God, the Lord and maker of all things, Who created man and endowed him with free will, gave him a law (according to the prophetic utterance?) for an aid,⁷ by this [law] establishing as known all things that ought to be done and those that ought to be abhorred;⁸ the former [for him] to choose

⁴ See B. Sinogowitz, *Studien zum Strafrecht der Ekloge* (Athens, 1956), pp. 36-39. The interesting story of the *Nachleben* of the Ecloga in medieval Slavic and Latin legislation is naturally also beyond our ken. (See Spulber, *L'Eclogue des Isauriens*, pp. 93 ff.). Incidentally, the commentators I have consulted do not seem to have noted that the Ecloga likewise found admittance into the Arabic canon law of the medieval Alexandrian patriarchate, as 'Canons of the kings Leo, Constantine and Justinian'. See W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 50-52. Unfortunately, the prologue was not incorporated in the Arabic version. For further references, see Graf, *GCAL*, vol. I, p. 616. The Slavonic translation does include the preface. See F. Dvornik, 'Byzantine-Political Ideas in Kievan Russia', *DOP* 9/10 (1956), pp. 89-90.

⁵ E. A. Freshfield, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire: The Isaurian Period, Eighth Century, the Ecloga* (Cambridge, 1932) gives a translation of the prologue (pp. 37-43), accompanied by a commentary. In an earlier work (*A Manual of Roman Law: The Ecloga* [Cambridge, 1926]), Freshfield gives a translation of the entire text, based on Monferratus' edition.

⁶ 'Εν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος Λέων καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος βασιλεῖς. (p. 10). Of course, such phrasing was part of documentary protocol; cf., e.g., the letter of Michael II to Louis the Pious: 'In nomine patris et filii et Spiritus sancti, unius, soli veri Dei. Michael et Theophilus fideles in ipso Deo imperatores Romanorum, dilecto et honorabili fratri Hludowico, glorioso regi Francorum et Langobardorum et vocato eorum imperatori.' (MGH *Legum Sect. III Concilia, Tomus II, Pars II* [Hanover and Leipzig, 1908], p. 475). See, also, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis*, PG 112, 1264-1280.

⁷ κατὰ τὸ προφητικόν. Leunclavius' text (L) has προφητικῶς εἰρημένον, an easier reading. But the expression is not unknown: cf. e.g. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Haer. 57, συναρῶν τὰ προφητικά τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς (ed. K. Holl, *Epiphanius*, vol. 2, GCS [Leipzig, 1922], p. 353, 5-6).

⁸ νόμον αὐτῷ ... δεδοκῶς εἰς βοήθειαν. Zachariā correctly refers to Isaiah 8:20 as this prophetic word. ((νόμον γὰρ εἰς βοήθειαν ἔδωκεν, LXX).

⁹ πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ τε πρακτέα καὶ ἀπενκτέα δι' αὐτοῦ κατέστησε γνωρίμα. The οὐ πρακτέα of L seems to be a harmonization of the *lectio difficilior* ἀπενκτέα with πρακτέα.

as the means of salvation,¹⁰ the latter to shun as deserving of punishment; and not a single one among those who pay heed to these things, or — which should not happen¹¹ — disregard [His] judgments, will fail to obtain the reward that corresponds to his deeds. For it is God who foretold both these things, the power of Whose words, established immovably, and apportioning to the work of each man its desert, will not (according to the words of the gospel) ever pass away.¹²

Since He handed the power of sovereignty to us, as it did please Him, making this the proof¹³ of our reverential love toward Him, commanding us (in the words of Peter, the highest eminence among the apostles) to tend the faithful flock,¹⁴ we deem nothing to be better or more worthy as a response

¹⁰ ὡς σωτηρίας ὄντα πρόξενον. The exact significance of πρόξενος, an Attic legal term (see Lidell and Scott, s.v., pp. 1491-92) which occurs several times in the text, is difficult to pinpoint; here it seems to mean 'representative' or 'patron' but includes the notion of effective execution; cf. Chrysostom, hom. 63.1 on St. Matthew: Christ's preaching is ζωῆς πρόξενος; or Cyril's δεκτικὸς οὐκ ἔρα τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὁ νόμος, οὐκ αὐχίματος τοῦ εἰς ἀρετὴν πρόξενος. See Lampe, s.v. πρόξενος, p. 1159.

¹¹ ὅπερ ἀπέσται.

¹² The κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγελικῶς εἰρημένον seems to be a reference to Matt. 24:35 (par). I fail to see the appositeness of Zachariā's reference to I Peter 1:17, a reference mechanically reproduced by later commentators (e.g., Lipsic, *op. cit.*, p. 44, Monferratus, *op. cit.*, p. 2). I Peter 1:17 does say that the heavenly Father will judge men κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστου ἔργον; however, the Ecloga's τῇ ἐκάστου ἐργασίᾳ ἀντιμετροῦσα τὰ ἔξια certainly is not a *verbatim* quotation of this, and the sentiment itself occurs often enough in the biblical text. At any rate, the Ecloga would not refer to a quote from I Peter as an 'evangelical' saying; in the next paragraph, a definite quotation from the same epistle is κατὰ πέτρον.

¹³ δέγμα τοῦτο τῆς ἐν φόβῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσεως ἡμῶν ἐποιήσατο.

¹⁴ κατὰ πέτρον τὴν κορυφασιώτατην τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀκρότητα. ποιμαίνειν ἡμᾶς κελεύσας τὸ πιστότατον ποίμνιον. Zachariā correctly identified this as a free quotation of I Peter 5:2; where the apostle Peter commands the elders: ποιμαίνετε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ θεοῦ. Some scholars have taken this, quite wrongly, as a reference to the Petrine primacy. The phrase cannot be translated as '[God] ordered us to feed his flock, like Peter the chief of the apostles' (Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 415, n. 1). The κατὰ πέτρον is a reference to the biblical source of the phrase, just as the previous κατὰ τὸ προφητικόν and κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγελικῶς εἰρημένον. Bury builds a whole 'caesaropapist' edifice on this expression: '... the Emperor, not the Patriarch, is the representative of St. Peter in the east, as the Pope is in the west; and this apostolic mission is alluded to in the Ecloga thus: ... [the above-noted translation follows]. In this passage at least, Leo is not arrogating to himself the pastoral functions that supposedly belong to the *Cathedra Petri*. Incidentally, Bury also claims that in the third title the Ecloga sets forth the theory of the 'organic' cooperation of Emperor and Patriarch (*op. cit.*, p. 415). In fact, Title 3 of the Ecloga says nothing of the sort, but is merely concerned with the down-to-earth matter of dowries. Bury has confused Title 3 of the Ecloga with the corresponding section of the Epanagoge (Zachariā, *Collectio*, pp. 67-68) where, of course, the famous 'Photian' theory of the patriarchate is enunciated. In fact, as one reads these pages of Bury, it becomes quite evident that, although he translated portions of the Ecloga pro-

to this trust than to govern, with discernment and justice, those entrusted to us. He charged us to free them from the bond of every wickedness, parting asunder the knots of forced covenants,¹⁵ driving back the onrush of trespassers, so that, triumphing over the foe by the power of His almighty hand, we may obtain a crown more costly and honorable than the encircling diadem,

logue, Bury, in fact, uses the provisions of the *Epanagoge*. He builds his whole theory of church-state relations under the 'Isaurian' rulers on this much later document. For instance, Bury likewise says: 'In the second title, where the duties and functions of the Emperor are set forth, it is explained that it devolves upon him to maintain (1) all things laid down in scripture, (2) all the enactments of the seven [sic] holy Synods, (3) the Roman laws...' The *τίτλος δεύτερος* of the *Ecloga* in fact talks about the forbidden degrees of relationship in marriage, first and second nuptials and suchlike. Bury actually gives an excellent summary of the second section of the *Epanagoge* (Zachariā, pp. 65-67); he did not even notice the anachronism of seven councils. No reference to this unaccountable *lapsus* of the great English scholar is made in the later works I have consulted.

Returning now to the *κατὰ πέτρων* of the text, the interpretation of the most recent commentator, the eminent Soviet scholar, E. E. Lipšic, ought to be noted. She translates the passage as «... приказал нам пасты самое послушное стадо, как корифею аностоялов Петру...» (*op. cit.*, p. 41); that is, 'He commanded us to tend the most faithful flock, as [He commanded] the chief of the apostles, Peter.' Then, somewhat inconsequentially, she reproduces Zachariā's reference to I Peter 5:2; that text, of course, talks not about Peter's pastoral office but the duties of the presbyters. The *Ecloga* naturally treats the Apostle's command as a divinely-sanctioned injunction, since it stands in Holy Writ; but the code does not make a reference to the Savior's commission to Peter, as both Bury's and Lipšic's translations make it appear. We already noted Bury's less than satisfactory treatment of the problem; as far as the work of Lipšic is concerned, such an oversight can be expected in a commentary which is profoundly uninterested in matters of religious history; in the entire preface, apart from one superficial and misleading reference to John of Damascus (see below, n. 116), it only deems worthy of notice such matters as titles of the *Quaestor* and the other officials who were consulted by the emperor. It appears unlikely that Lipšic checked the Scriptural references so conveniently furnished by Zachariā. (Similar selective treatment is accorded to this code in Lipšic's earlier work, *Очерки истории византийского общества и культуры VIII-первая половина IX века* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1961), pp. 228 ff.). R. Polz (*Patriarch und Synode in Konstantinopel: Das Verfassungsrecht des ökumenischen Patriarchates* [Vienna, 1971]) also peremptorily states 'Leon III hatte für sich auch die Nachfolge Petri reklamiert' (p. 34, note 11). But Polz quite rightly notes that the *Ecloga* preface attests the emperor's arrogation of the 'moralische Autorität' of the patriarch.

¹⁵ πάσης ἀδικίας λύεσθαι σύνδεσμον καὶ βίαιων συναλλαγμάτων διαλύεσθαι στραγγαλίας. This is a quite faithful quotation of Isaiah 58:6 (LXX): λῦε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας, δίδωτε στραγγαλίας βίαιων συναλλαγμάτων κτλ (Not identified by Zachariā or any of the other commentators to my knowledge.) The *Ecloga*'s emphasis on 'prophetic' justice will be discussed later.

being able to maintain our rule tranquil¹⁶ and the commonwealth firmly established.

For which reason, occupied with such cares, directing our ever-vigilant concern to those matters which please God,¹⁷ and searching out that which profits the common good, honoring justice above all earthly preoccupations, justice which is the agent of the heavenly [powers]¹⁸ and which is sharper than any sword against the foe by virtue of the power of Him who is served therewith... we ordered that these books be collected in our presence and having examined with close attention both the matters appertaining to these books and our own recent enactments... we deemed it fitting that time-consuming matters, and the decisions concerning contracts, and the penalties corresponding to charges be dealt with in a more lucid and more detailed manner, in order to secure an easily attainable comprehension of the import of such august laws, the ready settlement of matters with right judgment, the equitable prosecution of transgressors, and the restraint and correction of those who are disposed to commit transgression... (Two paragraphs, of less interest, are not translated.)

We strive to serve God who entrusted the scepter to us; with these weapons, by His strength, we purpose to resist the foe resolutely, we intend to increase the prosperity and to advance the well-being of the flock, which bears the sign of Christ, committed to our own lowly selves, by His authority;¹⁹ we

¹⁶ In this phrase Lipšic professes to see an indication of Leo's determination to have peaceful relations with the caliphate, by reason of the still unsettled military situation (*Ekloga*, p. 82). This pacific policy, according to her, is also attested by the letter noted in Dölger, *Regesten*, I, p. 35 (No. 292). Lipšic does not seem to have noticed that already in Dölger the reference is doubly asterisked, indicating that, in the author's opinion, it is a 'Fälschung'. In fact, the letter is only noted in the legendary *Vita* of John of Damascus, which, as is well known, is the Greek translation of a late, 10th century Arabic biography. (See P. Peeters, *Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* [Brussels, 1950], p. 185; Graf, *GCAL*, I, 89; B. Heimmerding, 'La *Vita* arabe de Saint Jean Damascène et BHG 834' OCP 28 (1962), pp. 422-23). Lipšic's information does not seem to extend beyond the five-line summary in Dölger. Perhaps she would have been less willing to depend on this letter had she known that, in the story, Leo's missive to the caliph merely serves as the *mise-en-scène* for the famous miracle of John's amputated and restored right hand. Lipšic does not note the attested fact of Leo's letter to 'Umar, which was probably couched in less than conciliatory terms.

¹⁷ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀρεσκόντων ... θεῶν ... εὐρεῖν ἀκολίμητον τὸν νοῦν καταστήσαντες.

¹⁸ τῇ τε δικαιοσύνῃ πάντων τῶν ἐπιγίων προτιμήσαντες ὡς πρόξενον τῶν οὐρανίων ἐπαρχουσιν. *Πρόξενος* here perhaps has more the implication of 'representative' than in the previous occurrence of the word (note 152); earthly righteousness is the reflection of heavenly justice.

¹⁹ τὸ χριστοσημεῖον καὶ παρὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίας ὑποταγμένον τῇ ἡμετέρῃ προῳπῇ. *Χριστοσημεῖον* seems to be a reference to baptism. Very early in his reign, about 722, but certainly before the promulgation of the *Ecloga*, Leo ordered the forcible baptism of the Jews, as is unanimously attested by both Byzantine and oriental sources (Theophanes, I, 401, 22-25; Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, IV, 456 (tr. II, 490); Aga-

carries them both. Unfortunately, the specialized nature of the eighteen *τίτλοι* does not permit one to see how this view of imperial authority would have been applied to matters involving purely questions of doctrine. But the general tone and explicit declarations of the preface to the *Ecloga* make it entirely credible that the promulgator of this code would have had no hesitation to decree the destruction of images, with or without patriarchal consent.

The author's ideas of social justice are moulded by the utterances of the Old Testament prophets. At the very outset, the writer cites the prophet Isaiah's declaration that the law was given as a help to man. He cites from Isaiah 58, which presents a complete «theocratic» program of social redress.²⁵ He also appeals to the prophet's curse on those who decline from equitable judgment for the sake of gain,²⁶ and, in the same passage, draws upon another passionate champion of social justice in Israel, the prophet Amos.²⁷ The prologue also refers to the famous «judgment of Solomon» and makes several quotations from the Jewish wisdom-literature²⁸ and the Psalms.²⁹

However, naturally, there also are allusions to New Testament material. Reference has already been made to the utilization of Matt. 24:35. The author quotes John 7:24, as coming from «our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.»³⁰ But, characteristically, in the same para-

²⁵ These passages from the *Ecloga* could perhaps provide that «prophetic element» the lack of which, according to D. Savramis, kept Leo from being a true religious reformer («Die Kirchenpolitik Kaiser Leons III. » *Südostforschungen* 20 [1961], p. 11). Incidentally, by way of general comment, Savramis' article presents nothing that is new when compared with previous discussions of Leo's actions and motivations.

²⁶ Isaiah 5:23-54 (LXX) [οὐαί] ... οἱ δίκαιοι τὸν ἀσεβῆ ἐνεκεν δώρων κτλ. quoted in the *Ecloga* (p. 13) with some additions.

²⁷ Amos 2:6 (LXX) ἀπείδοντο ἀργυρίου δίκαιον κτλ.

²⁸ Proverbs 11:1, 20:11, 15:27 (see note 30); Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 7:4-7. (Zachariā gives an incorrect reference to Sirach 3:22 [p. 12, note 68].)

²⁹ Ps. 57:2-3 (LXX).

³⁰ Τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ εἰρηκότος μὴ κρίνεται κατ' ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν κρίνεται, a literal quotation of John 7:24; but the dominical saying is immediately continued by πάσης δωροληψίας ἀπέχεσθαι δίκαιον, which is but a paraphrase of Proverbs 15:27 (ἐξόλλυσιν ἑαυτὸν ὁ δωρολήμπτης, ὃ δὲ μισῶν δώρων λήμψεται σφίζεται). The author is steeped in the Septuagint; the same cannot be said for his use of the New Testament.

graph where this saying from the Fourth Gospel is cited, it is quite overshadowed by two long quotations from the prophetic books. There also seems to be a citation from St. Basil.³¹ But all this, and other Christian material is used, if not exactly in a perfunctory matter, at least within a framework set by Old Testament legalism.³²

The prologue shows us an individual who is convinced of ever-present divine guidance in his heaven-appointed task of shepherding the Christian flock, who sees no need for an ecclesiastical hierarchy to interpret for him the divine directives, and whose ideas of social justice are moulded by the visions of the Hebrew prophets. These observations would perhaps be mere curiosities if they were made *à propos* an anonymous canonical compilation. However, if one then remembers that they are based on an undoubtedly genuine imperial document, promulgated by Leo just prior to the outbreak of iconoclasm, these same observations take on more significance. The author of this law code saw himself as a new Moses, to whom God spoke as a familiar friend, as a second Solomon in his judgment seat. It needs but little stretch of imagination to suppose that he could also come

³¹ Quoted in the canonist Harmenopoulos (ed. Reitz, p. 2, note 23); so identified by Zachariā, p. 12, n. 56. I have not been able to locate the reference in Heimbach's edition of the *Hexabiblos*; Reitz' edition was not available to me.

³² Incidentally, Alois Dempf (*Geistesgeschichte der altchristlichen Kultur* [Stuttgart, 1964], p. 203) professes to detect in the *Ecloga* the supposed Antiochene-Nestorian theories of free will, but his reasoning is difficult to follow. It will be perhaps best to quote Dempf's own words: «Die Gründe dieser Neuerung [i.e. iconoclasm] sind leicht zu erraten. Syrien war die Heimat des Arianismus und Nestorianismus. Dass dieser trotz der Verdrängung seiner Führer nach Persien und dem Versuch der Orthodoxen, sie für sich zu gewinnen, Volksglaube blieb, zeigt die Präambel des syrischen Kaisers fast unverhohlen. Bis in den Sprachgebrauch ist sie von der antiochenischen Freiheitslehre geprägt, so dass es nicht zu hart ist, Leon einen Kryptonestorianer zu nennen.» The author gives no documentation to support his dialectic, so it is hard to make meaningful comments thereon. The lack of references is to be regretted all the more keenly, since he seems to have access to otherwise unknown sources of information; at least so it appears from statements such as: «Die Ikonoklasten zerstörten nicht die kleinen Ikonen» (p. 203); iconoclasm originated «auf die nestorianische Abneigung gegen den Bilderdienst» (p. 204) and so on. Dempf makes no mention at all of possible monophysite influence; he seems to know for certain that eighth-century Syrian Christianity was solidly Nestorian!

to regard his role as that of a Hezekiah or Josiah *redivivus*,³³ divinely appointed to cast out the idols from the house of the Lord.³⁴

³³ In the first apocryphal letter of Pope Gregory to Leo, the emperor is quoted as saying: 'Οἷας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων μετὰ ὀκτακοσίου χρόνου ἐξήγαγεν τὸν χαλκὸν δῆν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, κἀγὼ μετὰ ὀκτακοσίου χρόνου ἐξήγαγον τὰ εἰδωλά ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, (ed. Gouillard, TM 3 [1968], p. 287, l. 138-140). Gouillard, in his study, which is a model of scholarly excellence, has, I think, quite conclusively demonstrated that the papal letters are late Byzantine productions. However, this does not mean that one may not have here a genuine echo of Leo's preaching of 726. The reasoning and the tone are entirely consonant with the author of the Ecloga preamble, who consciously models his actions on Old Testament patterns. Gouillard perhaps should have pursued further the possibility that these apocryphal letters of Gregory are nonetheless based on some genuine iconoclastic pamphlet circulated under Leo's name.

The supposed statement of Leo just cited refers to the action of Hezekiah ('Εζεκίας, IV Regn. 18:4 [LXX]); not to Uzziāh ('Οζίας) as the subsequent refutation assumes. The various explanations of the inconsequence, none entirely satisfactory, do not concern us now. (See Gouillard; *op. cit.*, pp. 262-63.) But it is exactly a Scriptural argument of this sort that one would expect from the Leo of the Ecloga.

³⁴ The picture that the closing chapter of the Ecloga paints of the ideal conduct of Byzantine soldiers doubtless corresponds to Leo's professed aspirations: «Τὸς ἐξερχομένους εἰς ἐχθρὸς ἐπὶ πολέμῳ φυλάσσειν δαί ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ βήματος καὶ πράγματος καὶ πρὸς μόνον τὸν θεὸν τὸν νοτὸν ἔχειν ... οὐκ ἐν πλῆθει γὰρ δυνάμεως νίκη πολέμου ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἢ ἰσχύς.» (ed. Zachariā, Titl. 18 [p. 51]). The last sentence (οὐκ ἐν πλῆθει ... ἢ ἰσχύς) is an exact quotation of J. Maccabees 3:19; not identified by Zachariā. Of course, such exalted sentiments occur often enough in Byzantine literature; yet, these could be Leo's own sincere ideals and; at least by 726, he may have viewed himself as a chosen vessel, an Oliver Cromwell *ante litteram*.

CHAPTER VII

CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM ICONOCLASM AND LEO

Before moving on to the early manifestations of iconoclasm in Asia Minor and the first official measures against images, it will be necessary to discuss the various accounts of the caliph Yazid's iconoclastic edict and its supposed relationship to Leo's policies.¹ Yazid's campaign will interest us only insofar as it is related in the sources to Byzantine iconoclasm; we will not discuss its precise motivations, the study of which belongs to Islamic history proper.²

¹ Most of the literary evidence about Yazid's *Bildersturm* is collected in A. A. Vasiliev's posthumous article, 'The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II, A.D. 721,' DOP 9/10 (1956), pp. 23-47. Vasiliev's work of course proved to be of great help in locating the primary source material, though it does not mention the key account in Thomas Arcruni, which is prior to, and is most probably the source of, both pseudo-Lewond and Stephen of Tarōn (see Appendix 1A).

The references by Muslim and Coptic writers to repercussions of Yazid's edict in Egypt do not concern us here. The Armenian versions, though they do not mention Leo, are discussed below, in Appendix 1; they are involved in the clarification of the relationship of various works that provide other information about Leo's reign.

Incidentally, C. H. Becker, in an often-cited article ('Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 26 [1912], pp. 191-195) asserts that Yazid's measures are attested only for Egypt ('Aus anderen Provinzen fehlen die Belege, wahrscheinlich, weil die Vorgehen in Ägypten isoliert gewesen ist', p. 192). Becker also does not seem to be aware of 'Umar's earlier measures. Moreover, Becker argues that, though the roots of opposition to images are Jewish (citing the 'Abodah Zarah), Muslim attitudes were formed under the impact of the Byzantine iconoclastic controversy. Though this thesis of Byzantine influence on Muslim iconoclasm is interesting, albeit quite devoid of documentary proof, Becker is, of course, entirely mistaken with regard to the scope of 'Umar's and Yazid's iconoclastic measures. The theory of the Jewish origin of 'normative' Muslim iconoclasm is championed by Lammens, who believes in mass conversions of the Medinese Jews to Islam. Lammens feels that Becker overestimates the influence of Christian iconoclasm on Muslim attitudes (*Études sur le siècle des Omayyades* [Beyrouth, 1930], pp. 384-89). However, Lammens, like Becker, thinks that Yazid's measures did not extend beyond Egypt.

² As far as the chronology is concerned, the sources concur in placing Yazid's iconoclastic edict before 726. Vasiliev, after comparing the sources, opts for July, 721. The whole question of Yazid's motivations and character is of great interest. There is a definite problem in reconciling the various accounts: some describe him as a *fainéant* king, more interested in his dancing girls than affairs of state (e.g. Tabari, *Annales*,

The accounts in Syriac, Armenian and Christian Arabic chronicles are briefer than the Byzantine versions, and seemingly represent traditions independent of the latter. The Byzantine witnesses will first be analyzed, and then the comparison made with the information afforded by the oriental sources.

The charge of «Judaizing» appears in iconophile polemic which is undoubtedly contemporary with the beginnings of the iconoclastic movement. Germanus is emphatic about the Jewishness of the opposition to icons.² The «letter of Gregory to Germanus»³ also accuses the image-breakers of acting in a Jewish manner.⁴ John of Damascus makes it clear that he regards the iconoclasts as exponents of a carnal, Jewish manner of Scripture exegesis, as Judaizers who despise the light of the New Dispensation.⁵ The *Noutheia*, written in the reign of Constantine V, levels similar charges.⁶

ed. de Goeje, ser. 2, p. 157; Eutychius, ed. Cheikh, p. 150; etc.); others make him out to have been a superstitious madman («he...ordered that all blue-eyed [ῥῶν ἰσ] men be killed.» Pseudo-Dionysius, ed. Chabot, p. 2, l. 24 - p. 4, l. 1, tr. p. 18). Yet, there is evidence here which presents Yazid as exerting his authority to restore the supposed primitive purity of Muslim practices (the slaughtering of pigs, the iconoclastic edict), measures which appear to be connected to those of the «pious» caliph Umar I. (Cf. ch. VII, n. 90.) The *Narratio* of John, which makes the Jews promise Yazid a long life in exchange for the obliteration of images, is obviously an attempt, albeit a hostile one, at reconciling these contradictions. However, this problem is beyond our purview here. Cf. Oleg Grabar's suggestive comments on the Yazid edict, in «Islamic Art and Byzantium», DOP 18 (1964), p. 83-84, note 40: «It... stands to reason that anti-iconoclastic milieux, in fighting their own battles in Constantinople, would have tended to assimilate their own enemies to the one caliph who clearly had persecuted them... I... prefer to consider the edict of Yazid as reflecting an anti-Christian program, which, because of contemporary Christian problems and late developments in both Byzantium and Islam, took an iconoclastic turn in the sources.»

² Mansi XIII, 109B, D.

³ J. Gouillard argues, with much plausibility, that this epistle is really a work of Germanus himself, directed to some unknown correspondent (TM 3 [1968], pp. 244-53). At any rate, it certainly is a genuine Byzantine document from the early part of Leo's reign.

⁴ «ἡ δὲ καὶ τις Ἰουδαϊκῶς κινούμενος πρὸς τὴν ἔγκλησιν, τὰ πάλαι τοῖς εἰδωλομαυνοῦσι καταβούμενα ἐπιφύλλει κατὰ (Mansi XIII, 97A); καὶ ὡς ἐν σφένδαμνῳ πύρρῳ ἀποβαλλόμενος ἀκουέτω ὡς Ἰουδαῖος (97AB).

⁵ PG 94, 1236 D; 1237 D; 1288 D: «τί οὖν ἡμεῖς φάμεν πρὸς ταῦτα; τί ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰρημένον.» «Ἐρευνάτε τὰς Γραφάς; etc.

⁶ E.g. «Ὁ γέρον εἶπεν· εἰπὼν σοι, τὰ Ἰουδαίων φρονεῖν σε καὶ πάντες οἱ ὁμοῖοί σου.» (ed. Melioranskij, p. XIII).

The otherwise often-attested accusation of «*Σαρακηνόφρων*», «Saracen-minded», levelled at the iconoclasts is conspicuously absent from the works of John of Damascus, and Theosebes, the author of the *Noutheia*, both of whom wrote in Muslim territory.⁷ Germanus does make a connection between the iconoclasts and the Muslims, though in a somewhat indirect manner.⁸ In later works, Muslim inspiration of

⁷ John, of course, was a monk of St. Sabas in Jerusalem, and Theosebes fled to Syria after the arrest of his master George (διδασκὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ, p. XXXIX). Theosebes is conspicuously uncommunicative about his own actions vis-à-vis the Byzantine authorities. It is noteworthy that, though silent about Muslim influence, these writers are unsparing in castigating the emperors. By contrast, Germanus, who wrote during Leo's reign, in Byzantine territory, does not once explicitly mention Leo; for Germanus, Constantine of Nacolia is the *fons malorum* (see below, pp. 87 ff). None of these writers, later legend aside (such as Germanus' woeful prophecy on the occasion of Constantine's baptism), though not traitors to their principles, incited the lions needlessly. A politic silence was naturally the best course of action. For instance, it is fairly certain that John of Damascus did not write ch. 101 of *De Haeresibus*, a fairly acrid piece of anti-Muslim polemic. (Whether *Haeresis* 101 in its present form can be dated in the eighth century is doubtful. See Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam*, pp. 49-55.) D. J. Sahas' recent attempt to refute A. Abol's detailed objections against the authenticity of *Haeresis* 101 is not very convincing (*John of Damascus on Islam: The «Heresy of the Ishmaelites»* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 64-66.) Though, of course, there is extant a sizable corpus of anti-Muslim polemic written by Christians living under Islam, it is manifestly impossible for us to investigate here in detail how the various controversialists of the period practiced this very Byzantine virtue of *oikonomia*. (The reader is invited to compare, for instance, the Melkite Agapius' irenic account of the Prophet (ed. Vasiliev, pp. 456-7) with that given by the Byzantine writer Georgius Hamartolus (ed. de Boor, II, pp. 697-705.) But, by contrast, there was no need for any of our authors, in Byzantium or Syria, to speak *sotto voce* about the Jewish miscreants. Such considerations should be kept in mind when one is evaluating the contemporary reports of Jewish or Muslim influence on Byzantine iconoclasm.

⁸ *Ad Thomam*, Mansi XIII, 109 DE. Just as the Jews, supposed upholders of the Mosaic injunction against idolatry, have a woeful record of idol-worship, so the Muslims ostensibly of the same low opinion about pagan practices, worship the *Χοβέρ*; an inanimate stone. *Σαββακηνοὶ δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπισκίπτειν δοκοῦσιν, ἀρκετὸν εἰς αἰσχύνην καὶ ἐντροπὴν, προσαγαγὼν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τελευμένην παρ' αὐτῶν λίθῳ ἀνύχως προσάψαντες, τὴν τε τοῦ λεγομένου Χοβέρ ἐπίκλησιν... Germanus definitely makes the rapprochement between the Christian opponents of the sacred images, and the Jewish and Muslim rejection of idolatry. However, it does not seem that Germanus is referring to explicit Muslim attacks on Christian cultic practices; rather, the common denominator between reformers of Thomas' stripe and the Muslims is the slogan «no idols». Germanus shows, to his own satisfaction, that the Muslims are hypocritical in their declarations; the implication, I suppose, is that Thomas and his coterie are also idolaters *in petto*. But Germanus does not elaborate this point.*

the heresy becomes a standard iconophile charge.¹⁰ Of course, as in earlier doctrinal controversies, the other party quickly hurled back the accusations.¹¹ The above instances purposely did not include the later accounts where the transmission of Jewish or Muslim influence is made more precise, and given in narrative dress. We merely wanted to point out that inchoate accusations of «Jew» and «Agarene» were already current before the first appearance of the narrative material now to be discussed.

The earliest such account is in the long recension of the *adversus Constantinum Caballinum*. The first version of the work, extant in two manuscripts in Moscow, shows evidence of having been written

¹⁰ E.g., Theophanes, I, 410, 16; Mansi XIII, 357 D, etc. Occasionally, the accusation becomes part of a blanket indictment: see, for instance, Tarasius' statement: 'Ἐβραῖους γὰρ καὶ Σαββακηνοὺς, Ἑλλήνας τε καὶ Σαρακεῖτας, ἐπὶ γὰρ μὴν Μανυχалоὺς, καὶ Φαντασιατάς, εἶπεν Θεοπασχίτας μιμησάμενοι ... (Mansi XIII, 157E).

¹¹ The *horos* of 754 calls John of Damascus (whose original name was Μανσοῦρ), Σαρακηνόφρων. (Mansi XIII, 356 C). According to Theophanes (I, 417, 21), Constantine V called the same illustrious defender of orthodoxy Μάνζηρος (= mamzēr, a Hebrew word, which also occurs in the Talmud, meaning 'bastard'; perhaps, in a more extended sense, the epithet is equivalent to 'Ιουδαϊόφρων. But, of course, from the side of the iconoclasts, the charge of «pagan»; Ἑλληγ, was more frequent. It should be noted that, though Theophanes says that Constantine called John Μάνζηρος, in a Jewish manner ('Ιουδαϊκῶ φρονήματι), he does not translate the word into Greek; apparently, then, the expression was current in Byzantine colloquial speech. That Constantine devised this little pun does not mean that he knew any more Hebrew than the «man in the street» today who may occasionally employ a few Yiddish swearwords. (Incidentally, it seems that the author of the *Vita Stephani* by inadvertence made the «Saracen-minded» Mansūr join the iconoclasts of 754, whose ranks also, according to his reckoning, included Constantine of Nacolia! (αἰρεσιάρχης ...: Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν νεωτερίζοντα Νικομηδείας, καὶ τὸν ... Νακυλείας ... καὶ Μασαράν [var. Μυσαράν] τὸν Σαρακηνόφρονα PG 100, 1140 BC). Stephen the Deacon obviously confused the sheep and the goats of the judgment of 787. This is not serious evidence for the longevity of the heretic from Nacolia.)

NOTE: It is not clear whether the word μάνζηρος came to the Byzantines from Jewish Aramaic or from Syriac; «Mamzer» is also attested as a loanword in Syriac: Bar Bahlul glosses ܡܢܙܪܐ with ܡܢܐܢܐܝܐ, literally «son of adultery», i.e., a bastard (ed. Duval, II, col. 1100). At any rate, the spelling μάνζηρος may reflect the fact that the Hebrew word in question was already pronounced «manzer» when it was borrowed in the Aramaic dialects; the corresponding loanword (via Aramaic?) in Ethiopic (ሙንዘር: mánzēr) shows even in the spelling this m > n shift, before a dental consonant (z in this case) which occurs in other words also. There is a possibility, though, that the accommodation of the nasal before a dental was produced in accordance with Greek phonetic rules. (Cf. M. Lejeune, *Traité de phonétique grecque*, ed. 2 [Paris, 1955], p. 124.)

outside Byzantine territory.¹² This short version did not yet include the story of Leo and the Jewish soothsayers. The long «Byzantine» version, though written after the death of Constantine V, was apparently drawn up before the restoration of images in 787, since no mention of this signal vindication of orthodoxy is made.¹³ The longer recension does contain a passage where, in addition to the significant first mention of Leo's original name, Conon, the author gives a dramatized account of the Jewish inspiration of Byzantine iconoclasm.¹⁴ In an unspecified locality, a certain Jew encounters Leo,¹⁵ advises him to give up his (uncouth?) name Conon, and predicts to him the imperial throne if he would pledge to overthrow the images adored by the Christians. Leo agrees, and, ten years after gaining power, fulfills his vow.

The basic element which appears in all versions of the story, namely, that of a Jewish soothsayer promising to the ruler a long reign in exchange for the destruction of images, is already present. As it stands here, the story is still in quite primitive form: no details of locality or

¹² See Melioranskij, *Georgij i Ioann*, p. 91. This version only calls Germanus ἄγιος, not πατριάρχης and ποιμὴν ἡμῶν as does the long recension (PG 95, 357B). For a description of the MSS, see Систематическое описание рукописей Московской Синодальной (Патриаршей) Библиотеки, составил арх. Владимиръ, часть первая, Рукописи греческия (Moscow, 1894), pp. 226 f (No. 197), and pp. 233 f (No. 201). Melioranskij also postulates a third recension ΣC, written ca. 774, and represented by *Par. gr.* 1115 (*op. cit.*, p. 87). In fact, Melioranskij has not collated this MS; he bases his assumption solely on the two facts that the MS contains the *adversus Constantinum* (as stated in the preface to the Migne edition) and the statement in the colophon, which claims that the original was written in A.M. 6784 (= 759 A.D.). Melioranskij emends it to yield 774/5 (*op. cit.*, p. 83). In fact, there is certain proof that the MS was written after 787 (see note 16); but, more than that, the collation of the MS shows that the version of the *adversus Constantinum* contained in it (fol. 239r-245v) corresponds to the short recension of the two Moscow MSS; it lacks the same chapters as these, and, in particular, does not have the Leo-Conon story and does not call Germanus πατριάρχης. Since Melioranskij only described in a summary manner the Moscow recension, but did not edit the text further comments on the relation of the version in *Par. gr.* 1115 to the Moscow MSS cannot be made now. It seems quite certain, however, that *Par. gr.* 1115 does not represent a separate recension. At a future date, I hope to return to the task of providing a critical edition of the *adversus Constantinum*, and the problem of its several recensions. (I am indebted to the kind offices of Prof. E. Kitzinger in gaining access to a microfilm of *Par. gr.* 1115.)

¹³ Cf. ch. II, n. 1.

¹⁴ PG 95, 336C-337A.

¹⁵ καὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦντος αὐτοῦ, μήπω τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ χειροθέντος ... PG 95, 336C. The Jew is not yet qualified as a magician, as in the *Narratio* and Theophanes.

names other than Leo-Conon are given, and Yazid does not appear, as he will in later versions of the story.

The next version is the *Narratio* of John of Jerusalem, read publicly during the fifth session of the Council of 787.¹⁶ The basic plot is the same as that in the long version of the *adversus Constantinum*: Jewish

¹⁶ Mansi XIII, 197-200. The *Narratio* is also separately printed, according to Combefis' edition, as an appendix to the Bonn edition of Theophanes Continuatus (pp. 481-487). The Combefis edition is also reprinted in PG 109, 517-520; unlike in the Bonn edition, the prefatory remarks are also reproduced (409-502). These make it quite clear that Combefis took the text from (the present) *Par. gr.* 1115. Anastasius' Latin version, printed in Mansi, does not give any notable variants. The text was drawn up before its recitation at the Council; John emphasizes that he is not speaking *ex tempore*, but from a prepared version (ἰδὼν χάριτον ἔκρινε καλὸν ποιῆσαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν) Judging from the anti-Arab tone of the account, it is unlikely that John wrote it while still in Palestine; in the extant versions, of course, John talks about the repulse of the Muslims ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ταύτης. (197B). This puts the redaction of the long version shortly before 787; Theophanes explicitly says that John only came to Byzantium as a delegate to the Council, invitations to which went out in 786 (I, 461, 1-3 καὶ ἤνεγκαν ἐκ μὲν Ἀντιοχείας Ἰωάννην κτλ.). See also Mansi XII, 990C. However, though one must take into account the element of caution exercised by Christian writers living under Muslim domination, the effect of this self-imposed censorship should not be overemphasized, especially as far as not Arabic works, directed at the Muslims, are concerned. Christian polemicists in writings intended for ecclesiastical circulation only, in Greek, Coptic or Syriac, would naturally exercise less restraint. (Cf. the discussion of the *Passio* of the Jerusalem martyrs, pp. 176 ff.) Though the Muslim authorities did punish open proselytizing activities by the *dhimmi* (see e.g. Theophanes I, 416, 18-24), it would be anachronistic to view the caliphate as a police state with an efficient network of censors and informers.

Melioranskij makes the gratuitous conjecture that the *Narratio* was prepared earlier, on the occasion of the Jerusalem synod of 764 (*op. cit.*, p. 98); he wants to maintain the correctness of the early date given in the colophon of *Par. gr.* 1115 for the original MS. We have already pointed out that Melioranskij had only fragmentary, second-hand information about the MS, and was thus led to make erroneous statements. The collation of the version in *Par. gr.* 1115 (fol. 280-281) in fact shows that the introductory comments made by John at the Council of 787 (Βούλομαι ἐγὼ ...) are included in the MS before the actual text of the *Narratio*. The version in *Par. gr.* 1115 is, in fact, the very same text which is found in the Bonn edition, as a quick comparison makes quite clear. As we have already remarked, though the *editio princeps* of Combefis does note that the *Narratio* is printed from this MS, such information is lacking in the Bonn edition. *Par. gr.* 1115 also contains other material from the Council proceedings; but this alone makes it absolutely certain that the *Narratio* in the original of this MS was actually copied from the *Acta* of the Council, and so was written after 787. Vasilev merely makes the comment: 'According to Melioransky, the report which John read at the Council had been compiled not in 787 but much earlier, in 769 [*sic*] (art. cit., p. 28, note 11).

miscreant promises long reign to ruler in exchange for the images, ruler accepts and carries out the bargain. In the *Narratio*, however, the milieu is Syria and the ruler the caliph Yazid II. After a short preface about Sulaymān, 'Umar, and Maslama's failure in 717 — all from a very pro-Byzantine standpoint¹⁷ — the *Narratio* tells how the heresy arose, ὅπως καὶ πότε καὶ ὅθεν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡ κακίστη ... εἰκονομάχων αἵρεσις¹⁸. A Jewish wizard from Tiberias, called Tessaracontapechys,¹⁹ comes to Yazid, promises him a reign of thirty years if he will destroy the sacred images of the Christians. To disguise the fact that this measure was aimed specifically at the Christians, 'every likeness' (πάν ὁμοίωμα) was to be obliterated. Yazid accepts, the decree is carried out by the impious hands of Jews and Arabs,²⁰ for no Christian could be forced to commit such sacrilege. But Yazid dies prematurely, the images are restored, and Yazid's son, Walid,²¹ orders the execution of the false prophets. (The impres-

¹⁷ Leo is not mentioned in connection with the Byzantine victory.

¹⁸ The comment made after John's account by the bishop of Messene (Μεσσηνή), 'And I was a child in Syria when the chief of the Saracens destroyed the images' is truly *bona fide* testimony of real historical value, in contrast to John's story-telling. καὶ ἐγὼ παῖδιον ἦμην ἐν Συρίᾳ ὅπνῃκα δὲ τῶν Σαρακενῶν σὺμβουλος τὰς εἰκόνας κατέστρεψεν (Mansi XIII, 200C). *Μεσσηνή* could refer to the bishopric by that name in the Peloponnese (*Atlas tur* KG, p. 20). However, *Μεσσηνή* could also denote Messina (present-day Messina) in Sicily; the older form of the name, *Μεσσηνή*, occurs in the Byzantine sources (see e.g. Zonaras, ed. Bonn, III, 882, Index, *s.v.*). The translation of Anastasius does opt for Messina in Sicily (*sacratissimus episcopus Messanae dixit* Mans. XIII, 199B); *Μεσσηνή* in Greece is uniformly transcribed as *Messene* by Latin writers. The Greek text, though, does not enable one to decide immediately which locality is meant. However, among the signatories of the Council decrees is noted, one Γαυδιώσης ἀνάξιος ἐπίσκοπος Μεσσηνῆς (*Gaudiosus indignus episcopus Messinae*) (Mansi XIII, 384 B). Gaudiosus is attested in the Sicilian episcopal succession lists. (D. G. Lancia di Brolo, *Storia della Chiesa in Sicilia nei primi dieci secoli del Cristianesimo* [Palermo, 1884], vol. 2, p. 164.) Be that as it may, the bishop did come as a delegate from the western part of the empire; hence, his emphasis on his Syrian childhood.

¹⁹ τὸς ἐν Τιβεριάδι προηγέντος τῶν παρανόμων Ἑβραίων φαρμακομάντις, δαιμόνων ψυχοβλαβῶν ὄργανον, ἐνομαζόμενος Τεσσαράκοντάπηχυσ. (197B). On this figure, see further Appendix 3B.

²⁰ Ἑβραίους θεοσυρῆς, καὶ αἰκτοῦς Ἀραβας ἡγγάρενον οἱ ... Ἀμπαῖοι. (197E-200A).

²¹ John unaccountably confuses Hishām's reign with the later one of Walid. However, neither Hishām's nor Walid's caliphate is noted for persecution of Jews or favors shown to Christians; in fact it was Walid who ordered the drastic punishment of Peter, the archbishop of Damascus, for anti-Muslim propaganda (Theophanes I, 416; cf. above, note 16). It should be noted that according to Theodore of Studios, the oriental legates, though not exactly impostors, were not in fact sent by the patriarchs. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐκ μὲν

sion that the punishment was in fact carried out is given.) However, in the meanwhile, the pseudo-bishop of Nacolia and his faction somehow gained knowledge of the iconoclastic measures in Syria; and, in imitation of the Jews and the Arabs, « outraged the churches of God. »²²

The short recension of the *adversus Constantinum* is attributed to John of Jerusalem in the two Moscow manuscripts;²³ as we have noted, this version does not yet include the story of Leo and the Jews. The *Narratio* is, of course, beyond doubt John's own composition. The long version of the *adversus Constantinum* should also, it seems, be attributed to John himself. Later we shall argue that John put out an updated, second edition of *Haeresis* 102 of the *Πηγὴ Γνώσεως*; it appears that John did the same kind of revisions on his own work. Chapter 1 of the long recension, lacking in the shorter version, addresses the audience as ὑμεῖς δέ, ὁ σептὸν ἀκροατήριον, τὸ νεόχριστον καὶ ἀρχαῖον²⁴; it would seem that this long version is a post-baptismal homily, pronounced in Constantinople, a sermon from a distinguished guest preacher, so to speak. (Would the νεόχριστοι be recent converts from Judaism or Islam, who, in the speaker's view, stood in need of a more careful exposition of the orthodox doctrine about images?) John took his own earlier work, and supplemented it with material concerning the origin of the heresy that had come to his knowledge since his arrival in Byzantine territory: both Leo's encounter with the Jew, and the *histoire scandaleuse* of the babe Constantine's baptismal mishap are part of this new material. The inclusion of Leo's change of name strongly indicates that the first story is definitely of Byzantine provenance; we have seen previously that no trace of Leo's earlier name can be found in the oriental sources. This material, then, represents the first extant written fixation of early popular iconophile propaganda directed against the iconoclastic emperors.

The similarities and differences between the two stories in the

ἀνατολῆς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνταῦθα προτραπέντες, καὶ ἐλχθέντες, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἀποσταλέντες, οἱ μὴδὲ ἐνόησαν ... PG 99, 1043D).

²² τούτων ἀκηκοὺς ὁ ψευδopισκοπος Νακωλείας, καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτόν, ἐμμήσαντο τοὺς παρὰ νόμους Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς Ἀραβας, καὶ ἐνέβρισαν τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ (200A).

²³ Melioranskij, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Ἰωάννου μονάχου Ἱεροσολύμων συνοδικὸν στηλιτευθὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν αἰκὸν καὶ ἀκέφαλον εὐδαίμονα [sic] ἐβδόμην σύνοδον. (Mosq. 197); Ἐπιστολὴ Ἰωάννου ἱεροσολυμίτου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον (Mosq. 201).

²⁴ PG 95, 309 B. At the beginning of Ch. 25, the listeners are addressed as ἀγαπητοί (341 D); this address is lacking in *Par. gr.* 1115, which only says: ἐγὼ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς (fol. 245r).

adversus Constantinum and the *Narratio* can in fact be best explained if one assumes that John of Jerusalem is the author of both. The version in the *adversus Constantinum* represents the genuine Byzantine oral tradition: it squarely puts the responsibility for the inception of the heresy on Leo. Constantine of Nacolia, a more obscure figure, whose memory was resurrected, so to speak, by the reading of Germanus' letters at Nicaea II,²⁵ is not mentioned. In the *Narratio*, an official document by virtue of its incorporation in the Council proceedings, the story was to be elaborated with different restraints. Though the orchestrators of the Council had no objection to defaming the caliph Yazid, the name of the emperor Leo, the founder of the ruling dynasty, had to be kept out of the *exposé*. Responsibility was to be projected onto Constantine of Nacolia; John's *Narratio* is entirely in line with Tarasius' own express declaration, upon the recital of the Germanus' letters, that this bishop was indeed the originator of the heresy.²⁶ John obviously knew the historical fact of Yazid's iconoclasm; it is not impossible that the story of the Jewish soothsayer confronting the caliph was popular oral tradition of Syrian Christians, of the same sort as the Leo story incorporated by John in the second edition of the *adversus Constantinum*.²⁷ However, the appearance of the bishop of Nacolia in the story is obviously secondary, and not a popular construction. « Having heard these things, the pseudo-bishop of Nacolia and his faction imitated the lawless Jews and impious Arabs »²⁸ is a pale, and awkward addition, without the colorful narrative detail that surrounds the encounter of the foolish caliph and the wizard. The means of transmission of the heresy from Syria to Byzantium is not yet made clear. Some of these literary defects are remedied in the next, fuller version of the events now to be analyzed.

The manuscript tradition of the *Πηγὴ Γνώσεως* shows that the second part, the so-called *De Haeresibus*, originally consisted of 100 chapters.²⁹ But, very early, though most probably not by John of Damascus himself, three extra chapters were added, on Islam, the

²⁵ See p. 85.

²⁶ Mansi XIII, 200 A. See note 198a.

²⁷ PG 94, 773 AB.

²⁸ Cf. pp. 69-70.

²⁹ B. Kotter, *Die Überlieferung der Pega Gnoseos des hl. Johannes von Damascus* (Ettal, 1959), pp. 196-214.

Iconoclasts, and the «Aposchistae». ³⁰ *Haeresis* 102 was originally quite a short notice, which, among other things, mentioned that the heretics were called *θυμολέοντες*, after their chief. ³¹ This chapter obviously dates from Leo's reign; whether it is of Byzantine or Palestinian origin is not immediately clear. John of Damascus was, of course, known even before 754 in Byzantium as a champion of image worship, ³² and his *Orationes* probably already were circulated among the orthodox during the first iconoclastic period. There seems to be no evidence, however, for an early appearance in Byzantium of his great dogmatic compendium; I suspect that the short version of *Haeresis* 102 is in fact a *Palestinian* addition, on the basis of the fragmentary reports about the new heresy that reached the Melkites of the Levant. This short version is not quoted in the contemporary Byzantine literature; there is a very interesting citation, however, of a *longer* version of *Haeresis* 102 in the work of Nicephorus: this represents the next stage of elaboration of the Leo-Yazid story, and is of significance, since, for the first time, both Leo and Yazid appear in the narratives.

In the Third *Antirrheticus*, Nicephorus explicitly cites *Haeresis* 102, by this title, but in a much more elaborate form. ³³ The first part, where the iconoclasts are characterized as *χριστιανοκατήγοροι* is similar to the text in the *De Haeresibus*; but, for the name and expansion of *θυμολέοντες*, the story of Yazid and Tessaracontapechys is substituted, with the parenthetical mention of the bishop of Nacolia. Thus far the story is a slightly reworked version of the *Narratio* of 787. However, then, explicit mention is made of the adoption of the heresy by Leo and Constantine V, though not yet as a result of Jewish soothsayers' wiles. But the combination of Yazid, the Jews, Constantine of Nacolia, and Leo, occurs together for the first time here. The history of the heresy, as given here, knows only Leo and Constantine V, and definitely seems to come from the iconophile *intermezzo* of 787-815.

The story is avowedly not a composition of Nicephorus, who quotes his source: «ἐκαστοτὴ δευτέρα ταῖς προκατειλεγμέναις ἐπαριθμού-

³⁰ PG 94, 773.

³¹ Πλὴν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἰρεσιάρχου ἔλαβον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

³² See note 11.

³³ PG 100, 523 B - 533 A. That Nicephorus repeats the story in the *Contra Eusebium* (see note 205) shows that this long citation of *Haeresis* 102 is original with him, and not added later. Uspenskij has recognized the relation between the *Narratio* and this text (*Očerki* II, pp. 239-40), but holds, in my opinion wrongly, that the expansion of *Haeresis* 102 is due to Nicephorus himself.

μεν». Significantly, Nicephorus cites this whole passage in support of the thesis that «this way of thinking and this evil-doing are not imperial but Jewish [in origin].» ³⁴ This was exactly the aim of the *Narratio* of 787, on which *Haeresis* 102 *aucta* is based. Nicephorus re-tells the same story in his own words, but without reference to *Haeresis* 102, in the *Contra Eusebium*, using his characteristic appellation *Μαμωνᾶς* for Constantine V. ³⁵ However this latter version does not add any details not already present in *Haeresis* 102 *aucta* and is therefore of no interest here.

It is quite likely, I think, that John of Jerusalem is also responsible for the expanded version of *Haeresis* 102 as part of a third edition of the *De Haeresibus*. When John came to Byzantine territory, shortly before 787, he already had in his possession this work with the brief version of *Haeresis* 102. John expanded this, with material from his own *Narratio*. Since this work, unlike the *Narratio*, did not need the official approbation of the Council, it was possible for him to mention Leo and Constantine V as heresiarchs. Leo is graced with some very harsh epithets, even more than in the *adversus Constantinum*. The imitation of Yazid's actions by the bishop of Nacolia is retained in the same relative place as in the *Narratio*; that is, before the caliph's death; Leo is, however, infected by the heresy only after the *status ante quem* has been restored by Walid in the Muslims dominions. The important feature, which in later versions becomes prominent, that the Jews managed to escape after Yazid's death to Byzantine territory,

³⁴ Ἐπεὶ σοὶ ἐγγνωστον γένηται, ὡς οὐ βασιλικόν, ἀλλ' Ἰουδαϊκὸν τὸ φρόνημα τοῦτο καὶ κακούργημα (PG 100, 523 B). Nicephorus may in fact be arguing against some of his iconophile comrades-in-arms. Not all Byzantine sources de-emphasized the imperial initiative. A ninth-century work, Theodoretus' *Life of Nicetas of Mediolanum*, explicitly declares that, unlike earlier heresies, which were inspired by ecclesiastical factions, iconoclasm was created by, and derived its strength from, Leo's own impious resolve: Ἐκείναι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ὅτι αἱ ἄλλαι μὲν αἵρεσεις ἀπὸ Ἐπισκόπων καὶ κατωτέρων Πρεσβυτέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰλήφασιν, αὕτη δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν Κρατούντων. Ὅστε δὲ δοὺν Πρεσβυτέρων καὶ Βασιλέων τὸ διάφορον. Καὶ ἐκείναι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δογματίζειν συνέκροτήθησαν, κατὰ μικρὸν τὴν ἰσχὴν προσλαβόμεναι· αὕτη δὲ ἐκ βασιλικῆς θύνασεως. Λέων γάρ ... οὐκ ἔδωκεν δέξαν τῷ Θεῷ ... καὶ ἐλάλησεν κατὰ Θεοῦ ἀδικίαν κτλ. (AA SS Apr. I (1866) Appendix, p. xxiii).

³⁵ Pitra, *Spicilegium*, I, pp. 375-76. The chapter heading, *ὅτι ἐκ μαροῦ καὶ γόητος Ἑβραίου ἐλύττησεν ἡ αἵρεσις εἰς Λέοντα καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον τοὺς Ἰσαυροὺς*, is manifestly a later addition; the text itself does not call Leo an Isaurian. The account in the *Contra Eusebium* presupposes the earlier version in the *Antirrhetici*. (For the chronology of Nicephorus' tracts, see Alexander, *Nicephorus*, pp. 182-188).

and there met Leo, is not yet present; the mechanism whereby the heresy was transmitted is again left vague.³⁶

The version in Theophanes' chronicle, written, as one should recall, in the second decade of the ninth century, represents a divergent development of the growth of the legend. The first part, about Yazid and the Jew, is similar to what we have seen already;³⁷ but Theophanes emphasizes that Yazid died before he could carry out any of his designs³⁸ (in contrast to the *Narratio* which tells of some iconoclastic actions being perpetrated before Yazid's early death). Constantine of Nacolia does not anticipate Leo's own iconoclastic commitment, as in *Haeresis* 102 *aucta*; rather, he appears only in a minor role and, together with Leo's Syrian aide-de-camp Beser, is simply shown as helping the emperor. The figure of Beser appears for the first time here and is kept distinct from the Jewish magician who led Yazid astray;³⁹ but even in that part of the account which resembles the *Narratio* there is no textual dependence.⁴⁰ Like *Haeresis* 102 *aucta*, Theophanes does not yet make the Jews encounter Leo personally, though they do not meet their deserved punishment at the hands of Yazid's successor, as in the *Narratio*. The connection of Theophanes' account with the *adversus Constantinum* is more problematical. We saw that this latter work incorporates popular tradition about Leo's name, Conon, and has the story of Constantine's baptism. Theophanes also gives the latter story, but is definitely not dependent textually on the account incorporated in the *adversus Constantinum*. Theophanes tells that Leo's baptismal name was Conon in a narrative which is quite different from that in the *adversus Constantinum*; it is, we already saw, in response to Germanus' statement that iconoclasm has been predicted to break out under a ruler called Conon, that Leo

³⁶ ἐντεθεν φυν καὶ αὐξήθεν, τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τὸ κακὸν ἐπεκώμασεν (PG 100, 529 C).

³⁷ Ed. de Boor, I, 401, 29-402, 4.

³⁸ ἀλλὰ χάριτι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ... τῷ αὐτῷ ἐταίρῳ τέθηκεν ἸϚδ, οὐδὲ ἀκουσθῆναι θράσας τοῖς πολλοῖς τοῦ σατανικοῦ αὐτοῦ δόγματος. (I, 402, 4-7). The Jew is anonymous in this account.

³⁹ See Appendix 3, part C, for a discussion of the Beser problem.

⁴⁰ The mention of the bishop of Nacolia seems to show some knowledge of the *Acta* of 787, but neither the bishop's name, Constantine, nor the role of heresiarch attributed to him in 787 occurs in Theophanes' account. That Theophanes makes the Jewish γόης come from Laodiceia, rather than Tiberias, as in the *Narratio*, also shows use of a different tradition.

volunteers this information.⁴¹ It is possible, but unlikely, that Theophanes took the fact Leo = Conon from the *adversus Constantinum* and built an entirely different narrative around it.⁴² It seems, rather, that the *adversus Constantinum* and Theophanes represent two separate fixations of divergent oral traditions. The Yazid story in Theophanes is of comparable complexity with the *Narratio*; it is only later that the Jews' encounter with Leo, in Isauria, was incorporated into the growing legend.

The story is given its final shape in the apocryphal version of the *ad Theophilum*.⁴³ The account there verbally coincides with the narrative of Georgius Hamartolus;⁴⁴ the evidence points, however,

⁴¹ Ed. de Boor, I, 407, 15-21.

⁴² Paul Alexander thinks that, since both Theophanes and the *adversus Constantinum* call Leo = Conon, therefore it is likely that both are based on the same apocalyptic text (Nicephorus, p. 234). It is, however, much more likely that Conon was indeed Leo's name earlier (see pp. 13 ff) and the stories are built around this fact. Though Theophanes may well depend on a lost apocalyptic text (cf. ch. II, n. 3), the equation Leo = Conon is not to be derived from it. Alexander's assertion that the story in the *adversus Constantinum* has an apocalyptic flavor seems to me to be a misuse of terms; the story itself isn't what one normally calls 'apocalyptic'; though Leo is entitled ὁ βίβλιος ὁράων, this is merely a literary device to assimilate the 'God-haters' of the day to biblical images of negative import. In many hagiographical texts the emperor or his minions are called by similar names, though the *passio* of the martyr is not at all 'apocalyptic'. An iconophile saint's *Vita* does not qualify as 'apocalyptic' merely because Leo is called therein 'a raging beast' or such-like.

⁴³ PG 95, 355-57. The genuine epistle does not mention the legend (Text ed. L. Duchesne, *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 [1913], pp. 223-239, 273-85, 349-66). It makes only a passing mention of Leo: Germanus saved an icon in the patriarchal palace, and sent it to Rome, 'on account of the emperor Leo's breaking of the images', διὰ τὴν γεροντίαν τοῦ βασιλέως Λέοντος σὺνθλασεν τῶν εἰκότων (ed. Duchesne, p. 349).

⁴⁴ Ed. de Boor, II, 735-38. The Leo story in the Church Slavonic translation of Georgius (made in Kiev, in the eleventh century, according to the editor Istrin), presents no noteworthy deviations from the Greek text. Leo is called Исаврланиъ иже и Ковонъ (I, 467, 21) and all the episodes found in the Greek text, as established by de Boor, are reproduced. В. М. Истринъ (V. M. Istrin), Хроника Георгія Амартола въ древнемъ славянорусскомъ переводѣ, томъ I (Petrograd, 1920, pp. 467-475). The 11th-century Georgian version published by S. Qauḡišvili (*Georgii Monachi Chronicon* — ბრძნობისაჲ გომარგო მცხატრისაჲ [Tiflis, 1920]), unfortunately, breaks off at the reign of Theodosius the Great; this earlier part of the chronicle shows some noteworthy additions when compared with de Boor's text. See M. Tarchnīšvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Vatican, 1955), pp. 205-205. (On the complex problem of the various Slavonic recensions of the work, see M. Weingart, *Byzantische kroniky v literaturě církevněslavanské*, II, 1 (Bratislava, 1923), pp. 61-111).

to the priority of the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*, and its utilization by Georgius. The pseudo-*ad Theophilum* shows no *ex eventu* knowledge of the restoration of images; Georgius' chronicle was, of course, definitely written after 843. The story of Yazid and Leo finds a natural place in the epistle's recitation of the history of the heresy.⁴⁵ By contrast, Georgius' poorly assembled account of Leo's reign is a patchwork of diverse materials, and in this very episode shows signs of imperfect assimilation of his sources. Though he already mentioned the accession of Leo, Georgius does not even adjust the first reference to Leo which occurred in his source; in recounting Leo's encounter with the Jews, Georgius calls him *νεανίσκος τις τοῦνομα Λέων*⁴⁶; this phrase is natural in the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*, where Leo appears at this point for the first time,⁴⁷ but is very gauche in a text where we have already been told that *ἑβασίλευσε Λέων Ἰσαυρος ὁ καὶ Κόνων ἔτη κε'*.⁴⁸ It seems, then, that, on both chronological and redactorial grounds, the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* is prior to Georgius, and furnished the material for the latter's chronicle.⁴⁹

The pseudo-*ad Theophilum*, which, in its present form, definitely stems from the latter half of the second iconoclastic period, for the first time makes the Jews escape from Syria after Yazid's death, to encounter Leo in an Isaurian locale.⁵⁰ Leo, a fair youth,⁵¹ but still of humble condition,⁵² falls victim to their promises; he believes their prophecy that he will become emperor, and have a long, prosperous reign, if he would but promise to destroy the images. Leo swears to

⁴⁵ The beginning of the text in PG 95 depends on the genuine epistle, and the account of Constantine's reign in the *Vita Stephani*. See B. Hemmerdinger, 'Les sources de B.H.G. 1387 (PG 95, 345-385)', OCP 341 (1968), pp. 145-147. No prior source is identified for our episode.

⁴⁶ II, 736, 16-17.

⁴⁷ PG 95, 357 A.

⁴⁸ II, 735, 13-14.

⁴⁹ Vasilién peremptorily states: '... the story which is found in the spurious text is to be dismissed as an interpolation reproducing the text of Georgius Monachus' (art. cit., p. 34). No reasons are given to substantiate the assertion.

⁵⁰ 'Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ [i.e. of Yazid] διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τοὺτους βουλευθεὶς ὡς ψευδομένους ἀποκτείνει, φύγαδες φέροντο ἀνακάμψαντες πάλιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰσαυρικοῖς μεθυσίοις. (PG 95, 357 A).

⁵¹ καλὸς τῷ εἶδει, ὠραίος τῷ προσώπῳ, εὐμήκης τῷ σώματι (ibid.).

⁵² βέλανθος τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐξ αὐτῆς τὴν ζωὴν πορίζμενος (ibid.).

do so, in the church of the martyr Theodore.⁵³ An interesting account of Leo's rise to power follows, with the unique mention of his expedition to southern Italy.⁵⁴ Then, ten years after his accession to the throne, Leo initiates the iconoclastic campaign, which, upon his death, is continued by his 'loathsome offspring', i.e. Constantine.⁵⁵ Quite inexplicably, the narrative then puts Germanus' deposition in Constantine's reign; it seems to telescope the events of 730 and 754 in a peculiar manner.⁵⁶ This latter problem does not concern us now; Georgius does not follow the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* here, but properly puts Germanus' disgrace in Leo's reign.

We have argued that Georgius does reproduce the text of the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* for the early story of Leo. However, Georgius is the first among the transmitters of the Leo-Yazid story to call Leo 'the Isaurian', ὁ Ἰσαυρος, the later invariable epithet.⁵⁷ We have

⁵³ Ἡ δὲ παρακλησιὶς τοῦ ἁγίου μαρτύρου Θεοδώρου. The heroism in question is probably that the military saint Theodore, who was martyred in Perge, in the neighboring province of Pamphylia (BHG 1747, *Menologium Basilii* [PG 117, 63], etc.). This is exactly the sort of authentic 'local color' to be expected from an inventive hagiographer.

⁵⁴ See ch. III, n. 21. Georgius reproduces the story from the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* (ed. de Boor, II, 737).

⁵⁵ τὸ ἐκείνου μαρὸν γέννημα, Κωνσταντίνον φημι. (PG 95, 360 C).

⁵⁶ The pseudo-*ad Theophilum* is also guilty of introducing a serious anachronism at an earlier point: the Jews escape from Syria after Yazid's death, and then meet the young and obscure Leo. In fact, at the time of Yazid's death, Leo has already reigned for several years. Georgius (who had access to Theophanes's work) mechanically copies the account, and does not attempt to correct its faulty chronology. The earlier accounts, in *Haeresis* 102 *auda* and Theophanes, do not claim that Leo was infected by the iconoclastic poison before his accession to the throne. This is a further argument in favor of the priority of the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* over Georgius. Georgius would not have introduced such an error on his own, working on the basis of Theophanes' chronology. But the contradiction easily could be overlooked by him if he was incorporating the narrative *en bloc* from another source. (Cedrenus, in his conflation of material from Theophanes and Georgius, does show, however, that the chronological error, once present, could easily escape a redactor. Cedrenus explicitly declares that the Jews from Leodiceia encountered Yazid, then Leo, 'shortly before Leo's reign' πρὸ ὀλίγων τῶν χρόνων τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος Ἑβραῖοί τινες ἐκ Λαοδικείας τῆς Φωνικῆς ἦλθον πρὸς Ἰζήθ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν Ἀράβων κατ' [ed. Bonn, I, 788, 11-12].) The author of the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* had apparently only hazy notions of the sequence of events in the eighth century; we shall argue presently that he may have even confused Leo III and his predecessor Leontius, and thus have started the story of the Isaurian Leo.

⁵⁷ Cf. p. 4.

already discussed this question of Leo's origin at some length; the arguments for the incorrectness of this epithet shall not be repeated. We shall only note that pseudo-*ad Theophilum* is the first to affirm, but at a point after the Leo-Yazid narrative, that Leo and Constantine were «from the race of the Isaurians»; ⁵⁸ Georgius, who shows no knowledge of this latter part of the work, may well have drawn the inference that Leo was an Isaurian merely from the Isaurian setting of his encounter with the Jews. At any rate, the first explicit mention of *Λέων ὁ Ἰσαυρὸς* occurs in Georgius.

Previously, we have argued that the one mention in Theophanes' chronicle of Leo's supposed Isaurian origin is a late interpolation; ⁵⁹ we have just suggested that a source of the Leo story for Georgius Hamartolus' account is the apocryphal version of the *ad Theophilum*. ⁶⁰ If our analysis is correct, the mention of Leo's Isaurian derivation appears first in the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*; here an attempt will be made to motivate this first occurrence of Isauria in connection with Leo's origins.

The pseudo-*ad Theophilum* commits some serious errors in eighth-century Byzantine chronology: we have noted that Yazid's whole reign is made, wrongly, to antedate the accession of Leo, and that Germanus' deposition is telescoped with the events of 754. ⁶¹ Thus, it would not be at all surprising if the origin of the «Isaurian» legend is the result of some similar piece of chronological misinformation.

Leo's Italian expedition is only noted in the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* and Georgius Hamartolus, who depends on this account. ⁶² It is not impossible that at least part of the material in the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* represents south Italian iconophile traditions; perhaps the final elaboration of the Leo legend found in this text took place in an Italian milieu.

The tentative explanation that is proposed here for the rise of the «Isaurian» legend hinges on a possible confusion of historical information appertaining to the emperors Leontius (695-698) and Leo III. It is well known that Leontius is consistently called LEON on his coins and only on technical numismatic grounds can these be distin-

⁵⁸ *Λέωντος καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῆς τῶν Ἰσαύρων ἀγχιωρίας γεγενῆτων* ... (PG 95, 368 C).

⁵⁹ See pp. 6-7.

⁶⁰ See pp. 71-72.

⁶¹ See note 56.

⁶² See note ch. III, n. 21.

guished from the coins issued under Leo III. ⁶³ Moreover, in *Italian* sources, the emperor Leontius is *only* known by the name Leo. ⁶⁴ Though, of course, the Byzantine sources almost unanimously call Justinian II's successor Leontius, it is possible that the (Italian?) writer of the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* depends on material where the figures of Leontius - Leo and Leo III have become partially fused. If this writer could put Germanus' demission in Constantine's reign, one can easily accept that he could also confuse Leontius with the latter's more famous successor. The apparent similarities in the early careers of Leontius and Leo III may have assisted in creating the confusion. ⁶⁵

Granting, then, the likelihood that Leontius and Leo have become amalgamated in those sources on which the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* depends, ⁶⁶ it becomes possible to offer an explanation for the birth of the «Isaurian» legend. Nicephorus, in the *Breviarium*, characterizes Leontius in the following terms: *Λεόντιον δὲ τινα πατρίκιον ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰσαύρων ὁρμώμενον χώρας καὶ στρατηγὸν γενόμενον τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ καλουμένου στρατεύματος* κτλ. ⁶⁷ Nicephorus' first description of Leo III is very similar to this, except for the absence of an Isaurian derivation. *εἰτα εἰς ψῆφον ἐληλυθότων τοῦ βασιλεύσοντος ἡρέθη Λέων ὁ πατρίκιος, τηλικαῦτα στρατηγὸς ὢν τοῦ τῶν ἀνατο-*

⁶³ P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection...*, vol. II, part 2 (Washington, 1968), p. 610. The identification of Leontius' coins was first made by L. Laffranchi. For a recent account of Leontius' reign, see C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (Madison, 1972), pp. 92-98.

⁶⁴ This has been noted by J. P. C. Kent, «The Mystery of Leontius II», *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. VI, vol. 14 (1954), pp. 217-218. For instance, the *Liber Pontificalis* says: «Iustinianus imperator... Leonem etiam et Tiberium, qui locum eius usurpaverant, coepit...» etc. (ed. Duchesne, I, 385). For other references, see Kent's article. Kent further argues that *Leon* was indeed the official name of Leontius, adopted upon his accession. See below, pp. 78 ff, for some new evidence to support this conjecture.

⁶⁵ Both are, at one point, *strategoi* of the Anatolic theme (see next paragraph); Leontius is sent to Armenia, imprisoned, then made *strategos* of the Helladic theme by Justinian II (Theophanes); Leo is forcibly transplanted to Thrace, and sent on a Caucasian mission, also by Justinian II (cf. p. 29). Soothsayers predict the imperial dignity to Leontius (Nicephorus, Theophanes); of course, a similar prophecy is made to Leo according to the *adversus Constantinum Caballinum* (long recension), and later sources (see pp. 63 ff).

⁶⁶ The role of oral tradition should again be emphasized. Chronological confusions which are quite inexplicable if the writer depends on the standard chronicles are quite natural if he is drawing on oral sources.

⁶⁷ Ed. de Boor, 37, 24-26.

λικῶν λεγομένου στρατοῦ.⁶⁸ Leontius' Isaurian origin is not noted by Theophanes or Georgius.

In the written sources, or, as is more likely, the oral traditions, on which the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* depends at this point, Leontius and Leo have become confused; it is quite possible that the Isaurian origin of Leontius was mistakenly transferred to the more famous Leo. Italian oral tradition, transmitting information similar to that preserved in Nicephorus and Theophanes, remembered that the emperor «Leo», a former Anatolic strategos, came from Isauria and that soothsayers predicted to him the imperial dignity. This material, properly belonging to Leontius, was incorporated by the author of the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*, or his source, into the legend of Leo III.⁶⁹ There was no motivation whatsoever for calling Leo an Isaurian on the basis of eighth-century Byzantine sources, which unanimously attest Leo's Syrian origin. The pseudo-*ad Theophilum* (via Georgius) has introduced the error into the chain of Byzantine traditions and dramatized it, so to speak, by putting the encounter of Leo and the Jews in Isauria. There seems to be some evidence that the author was aware of the previous traditions which made the Jews originate from Palestine; he says that the soothsayers who met Leo were from Magyda (a coastal town in Lycia, a province bordering on Isauria) and from Palestinian Gaza.⁷⁰ The figures of the Jews native to Asia Minor are thus grafted onto the earlier tradition (represented by the *Narratio* and Theophanes) of the Palestinian soothsayers. The «negative» implications of «Isaurian» helped to fix permanently the epithet on Leo and his dynasty.⁷¹ This characterization soon came to eclipse the memory of Leo's actual Syrian origin in Byzantine historiography.

⁶⁸ Ed. de Boor, 52, 20-22.

⁶⁹ The author does not even seem to have been aware of the existence of Leontius; in his partial list of Leo's predecessors, Leontius does not appear (δ' Ἀπρίμιος, δ' Ἀφίμαπος, δ' Ἀναστάσιος [360 A]), instead of, properly Leontius, Apeimar, and Anastasius-Artemius). Thus, it is quite probable that he applied all the data available about «the emperor Leo» to Leo III.

⁷⁰ Μαγυδαῖοι τινες φαρμακοὶ καὶ ἐπαιδοὶ Γαζαῖοι 360 A.

⁷¹ See p. 72. An Isaurian setting for the story is, in fact, not unreasonable: Leo was born in Mar'aš and did migrate to Byzantine territory, perhaps first sojourning in neighboring Cilicia or Isauria (Theophanes' transplanting him to distant Thrace is probably to be rejected. See pp. 29-31).

Incidentally, C. Mango offers the harmonizing solution that, though Leo did come from Germanicia, he was by origin a member of the Isaurian diaspora («Isaurian Builders», *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger* [Heidelberg, 1966], p. 363). To my mind, this suggestion is invalidated by the fact that the eighth-century «Syrian» tradition

Going somewhat further, perhaps it is not even necessary to assume an Italian origin for the Leontius-Leo identification. The vulgate tradition of the Byzantine chroniclers, from Nicephorus onward, does admittedly call Leontius only by this name. However Leontius is called Λέων in the commemorations of the Patriarch Callinicus of Constantinople (d. 705),⁷² and two lists of regnal years⁷³; in two passages, the *Patria* of pseudo-Codinus (a tenth-century compilation, in part dependent on eighth-century sources) designates, according to most of the MSS, Leontius by the name Λέων.⁷⁴ The tenth-century chronicle of Petrus Alexandrinus calls Leontius Λέων.⁷⁵ The Arabic chronicle of Eutychius (which uses Byzantine sources) has Lāwun, ie. Leo.⁷⁶ Thus, some contemporary Byzantine literary sources may in fact, have known Leontius as Leo, in line with the Italian works and the numismatic evidence. In fact, if in the early eighth century Leontius was indeed generally known as Leo, the famous episode of Justinian II literally trampling on his defeated rivals, Leontius and Tiberius, in the Hippodrome, with the populace chanting «You did tread upon the asp and the basilisk, and trampled on the lion and the dragon»,⁷⁷ is even more plausible. Though Λεόντιος does mean «lion-like», the appositeness of the biblical allusion is even more apparent if the dethroned monarch was also called Λέων, «lion», tout court.

is displaced by the ninth-century «Isaurian» one, rather than co-existing simultaneously with it.

There is nothing improbable in assuming that Isauria was the setting for the first stage of Leo's meteoric career. However, Leo's possible early stay in Isauria is not enough to explain the later Byzantine tradition of his Isaurian birth, which is counter to the earlier sources; a more detailed explanation, such as we have proposed above, is needed.

⁷² AA.SS. Augusti IV (1867), 647 D; B. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt* II (St. Petersburg, 1912), p. 340, l. 28.

⁷³ In the genitive form Λεωντος (*Chronica minora*, ed. Th. Mommsen III [MGH Auct. Antiquiss. XIII] [Berlin, 1898], p. 452, l. 32, p. 454, l. 33).

⁷⁴ Only one class of MSS (*F*) has «Leontius» in the first case; the others give Λέων ὁ πατρικιος (ed. Preger, 244, 6); in the second passage τὸν βασιλέα Λέοντα (op. cit., 280, 8) is less uniformly attested. Preger himself, bowing to the vulgate tradition, prints Λεόντιος in both cases in the text.

⁷⁵ Ed. E. G. Samodurova, V.V. n.s. 17 (1960), p. 196, l. 38. Cf. Krumbacher GBL, pp. 398-9.

⁷⁶ لا و ن ed. Cheikho, p. ξ., line 4.

⁷⁷ Theophanes, I, 375, 11-12 τοῦ δῆμον βοήσαντος, ὅτι «ἐπὶ δαπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπέβη, καὶ κατεπάτησας λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα». This «messianic» text (Psalm 90:13 [LXX]) of course also inspired a whole class of Byzantine and western representations of the triumphant Savior.

There is another body of independent evidence which indicates that Leontius also bore the name «Leo». The dated colophon of the Armenian version of the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates states that the translation was made «in the ninth indiction, in the first year of the reign of the third Lewon, monarch [and] Augustus.» (ի յիններորդումն ընտիրանին, յառջնում ամի թագաւորութեան երորդ Ղևոնի ինքնալալի Աւղոստոսի).⁷⁶ This colophon gives the date according to both the Armenian and the Byzantine eras; the actual date is definitely 695-696.⁷⁷ Now this coincides in fact with the first year of the emperor *Leontius*' reign. However, any attempt to emend the text to say «Leontius» is unsatisfactory and unnecessary; ⁷⁸ rather, it seems that here «Leontius» is unambiguously designated as «the third Leo», ⁷⁹ in concord with the previous evidence. The later vulgate tradition of the Armenian chronicles also knows Leontius as «Lewon». ⁸⁰ Thus, though for some unknown reason Leontius' *alias* was not preserved in the tradition of the Byzantine chroniclers, the evidence adduced above strongly indicates that Leontius — like his unfortunate confrere Tiberius-Apsimar, ⁸¹ and the «hero» of our own story, Leo-Conon — was indeed *διώνυμος*, a man with two names. ⁸²

⁷⁶ The colophon was re-edited by P. Peeters, on the basis of Ter Movsean's *editio princeps* of 1897, plus an additional manuscript («À propos de la version arménienne de l'historien Socrate», *Mélanges Bidez* [Brussels, 1934], p. 649).

⁷⁷ *Art. cit.*, p. 651.

⁷⁸ Peeters, having emended Ղևոն (Lewon) to Ղևոնի (Lewon), is then confronted with the absurdity of the «third Leontius». Thereupon he arbitrarily reworks the text to read «in the first year of the reign of the monarch Leontius, on the third of August» յառջնում ամի թագաւորութեան Ղևոնի ինքնալալի, յերորդ արդոստոսի... *art. cit.*, p. 654).

⁷⁹ Leo I and Leo II reigned in the fifth century.

⁸⁰ Stephen of Tarōn, ed. St. Petersburg, p. 142; Vardan, ed. Muyldermans, p. 66, l. 18; Kirakos, ed. Melik'-Ohanjanyan, p. 65, l. 11; Samuel of Ani, tr. M. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, T. II (St. Petersburg, 1876), p. 409.

⁸¹ Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, 361, 27.

⁸² Georgius Hamartolus, *à propos* Tiberius-Apsimar, gives a quaint list of biblical worthies who also bore two names (ed. de Boor, 732, 10-13). After this work had been completed, and had gone to press, I was gratified to learn that a like conclusion was reached by Constance Head in a recent article concerning the Leontius-Leo fusion as the source for Theophanes' «Isaurian» epithet. («Who Was the Real Leo the Isaurian?» Byz 41 (imprint 1971, but apparently published in 1972), pp. 105-8). Based on Kent's collection of the Latin sources and the numismatic evidence, and on Nicephorus' description of Leontius' Isaurian origin and career as *strategos* of the Anatolia theme, Head rightly infers that «Leo the Isaurian» was none other than Leontius. However she is unaware of the other Byzantine and oriental evidence, and her acquiescence in Schenk's hypothesis about Germanicia and Germanicopolis is somewhat inconsequent.

Though the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* served as Georgius' source, the Leo-Yazid legend was transmitted to the later chronicles via Georgius' chronicle, and, to a lesser extent, through the account in Theophanes. The *Narratio*, as incorporated in the *Acta* of 787, does not seem to have been used directly by later Byzantine writers. ⁸³

The components of this «definitive» version, in the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* and Georgius Hamartolus, cannot be immediately correlated with earlier accounts. The story of Yazid and the Jews depends, but only in a general way, on the material of the *Narratio*. The person of Tessaracontapechys is curiously split into δύο τινες θεομάχοι 'Εβραίων παῖδες, who are otherwise unnamed. The figure of Constantine of Nacolia entirely disappears from the story. (Or, more properly, we have here a more primitive version which has not been contaminated by the «official» historiography of the Council of 787.) The description of the young Leo, the Isaurian locale, the topographical details, are all new, in addition to the basic element of the Jews' actual encounter with Leo. It definitely seems that, in the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*, we possess a version which, in comparison with the *Narratio*, on one hand, preserves some more primitive features of the story, and, on the other hand, definitely represents a longer period of oral development.

Our last conclusion is borne out by the fact that the folkloristic features are much more prominent in the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* than in the *Narratio* or in Theophanes. In particular, the episode of Leo's encounter with the Jewish magicians, which, of course, is lacking in the previous accounts (except the long recension of the *adversus Constantinum*) is replete with details that seem to indicate prior oral transmission and naive story-telling elaborations. The handsome

⁸³ However, the proceedings of the Council of Paris (825) include a Latin version of the *Narratio* (taken from the defective version of the *Acta*, which was produced by the chancery of Hadrian I, and which underlies the *Libri Carolini*). Text in MGH *Legum Sectio III, Concilia*, T. II, *Concilia aevi Karolini*, I (ed. A. Werminghoff), *pars II* (Hannover and Leipzig, 1908), pp. 519-520. Landulfus Sagax, *Historia Romana* (ed. A. Crivellucci), (Rome, 1912-13), II, pp. 193-94 reproduces Theophanes' version of the Yazid story, via the Anastasian translation, of course. The brief parallel account in the Slavonic *Vita* of Saint Stephen of Surož does not mention Yazid; the encounter of two Jews with Leo seems, however, to show dependence on the vulgate tradition as embodied in Georgius' version. This *Vita* does add the noteworthy detail, not found elsewhere, that the Jews incited Leo to destroy not only icons, but crosses as well: позволи . . . царю, да отложить иконы и кресты («... they said to the emperor that he ought to remove icons and crosses») (ed. V. Vasilievskij, Труды, III [1915], p. 87, 80).

young Leo meets the soothsayers «about the sixth hour», resting at eventide at a spring; suddenly the heralds of his dazzling future fate encounter him.⁸⁴ Leo swears at a shrine to destroy the images if he becomes king; the story does not even omit to note that the Jews were waiting *outside* the sanctuary of the church, as befits infidels.⁸⁵ The story of Leo's Italian expedition is told in much more factual terms, and betrays dependence on a written source. When the Jews come to Leo after his accession to the throne, they are made to pronounce a little speech, wherein they menace Leo with the dismal fate of his short-lived predecessors if he does not live up to his promises; but if he does «deliver the goods», so to speak, they predict his dynasty will last for a hundred years.⁸⁶ Though the *Narratio* also puts a speech in the mouth of Tessaracontapechys,⁸⁷ the tone here is definitely more «popular». (Of course, the *Narratio* itself also represents the written fixation of oral tradition, as we have pointed out previously). The *adversus Constantinum*, which also contains the story of Leo's encounter with the Jews, though not yet within the framework of Yazid's iconoclasm, provides a very instructive comparison. This

⁸⁴ The curiously favorable description of the young Leo does not fit the iconophile stance of the work; it may well be that we have here the debris of an iconoclastic version of Leo's rise to power. Perhaps the story in the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* transformed a narrative in which not foul Jews but, rather, some saintly, ascetic hermit predicted to Leo the imperial throne, if he would pledge to cleanse the house of the Lord from idols. In this latter form, the story may even have originated with Leo himself, and used in early iconoclastic propaganda. Cf. the prediction of an iconoclastic monk to Leo V, Genesis, ed. Bonn, p. 14, lines 15-18.

The description of the young Leo's attractive appearance is quite reasonably omitted in the reworking of Georgius' account in the *Σύνοψις Χρονική* (ed. Sathas, pp. 121-22). This text simply says: ἐκείσε δὲ τῷ Λέοντι ἐντυχόντες, νεανίᾳ τότε τυγχάνοντι, χειρωνακτὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἐπιτέλεσμα (122, 5-7). (The additional information that Leo was a craftsman by trade is a seemingly unauthorized deduction from the phrase in Georgius (βάσιλευς τὴν τέχνην)).

⁸⁵ ἐστῶτων τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τοῖς πυλῶσι τοῦ ναοῦ (357 B). This is exactly the kind of veracity that the audience would demand from the story-teller. The listeners would be more than willing to accept the demonic clairvoyance of the Jews, but they would immediately object if the narrative would imply that the Jews were actually present in the sanctuary — an outrage, which they themselves would not have tolerated.

⁸⁶ ὅπως τοῦτο ποιῶν, μέλλεις ἀρχειν καὶ βασιλεύειν ἄχρι χρόνων ἐκατὸν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ σου· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβῇς, μέλλεις τάχιστα, ὡς ὁ Ἀρτέμιος, ὁ Ἀφίμαρος, ὁ Ἀναστάσιος ἀναβεθῆναι (360 A). This *ex eventu* prediction of the longevity of the «Isaurian» dynasty is consonant with a ninth-century date for the version of the Leo legend incorporated in this text.

⁸⁷ Mansi XIII, 197 D.

version shows an earlier stage of oral development; the description of the young Leo, the deceptively precise topographic details, the long speeches of the Jew, are still lacking; these were added in the course of transmission, in the period between the writing of the long version of the *adversus Constantinum* (ante 787) and the composition of the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*. The actual linking of the Leo story with that of Yazid may also have happened in the course of transmission; however, I think this step is rather due to the author of the pseudo-*ad Theophilum*.

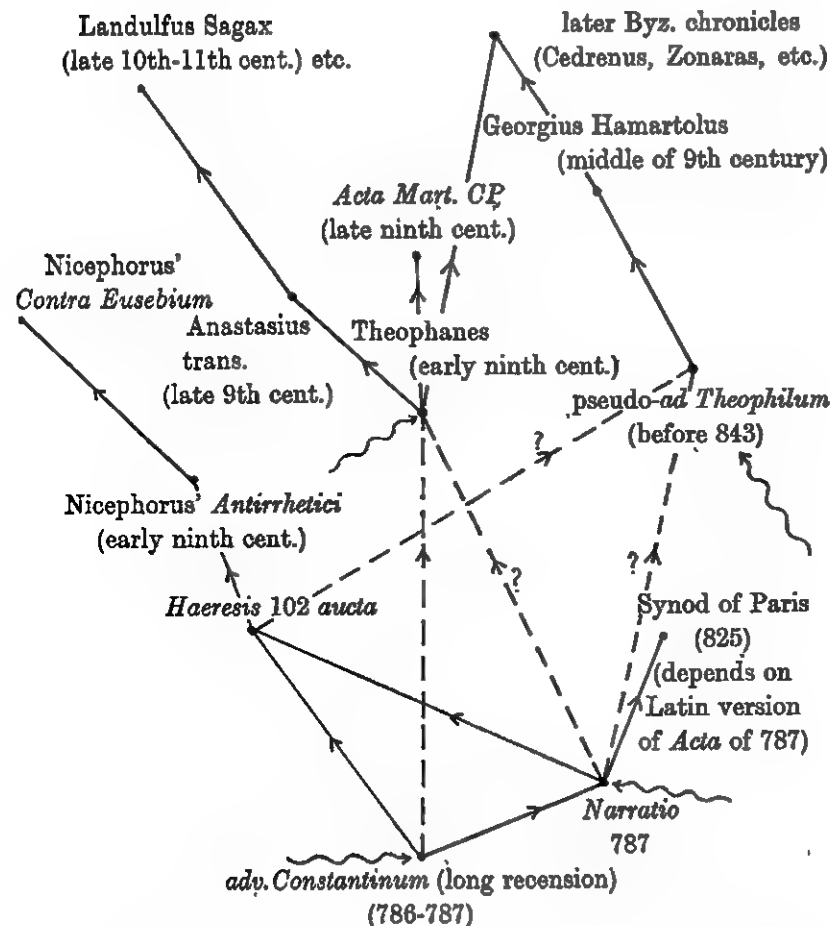
⁸⁸ When one turns from the Byzantine accounts to the Syriac and Arabic notices about Yazid's and Leo's iconoclastic measures the thousand-and-one-nights atmosphere of magicians and uncanny prophecies gives places to more prosaic material. In the oriental chronicles there are a number of short notices about the iconoclasm in Yazid's or Leo's reign; but no work earlier than the twelfth-century history of Michael the Syrian links the events in Syria and Byzantium. The analysis of the relation of the various mentions of Leo's iconoclasm is fairly involved; the details of this analysis are relegated to Appendix 4.⁸⁹ In contrast to the Byzantine traditions,⁹⁰ here the connections can be accounted for simply on the level of literary borrowing and editorial redaction. Only the results of the analysis will be set forth here.

The earliest mention of Leo's iconoclastic measures is in Agapius, who does not even note Yazid's similar actions. Agapius most probably is dependent here on an eighth-century Greek or Syriac source. The next mention of Leo's iconoclasm occurs in the late twelfth-century chronicle of Michael the Syrian. In another passage of his work, Michael also mentions Yazid's measures. This is the first source which links the two events, iconoclasm in Syria and in Byzantium, by means of a cross reference: Leo ordered the destruction of images, «like the ruler of the Arabs». Both the *Chronicon syriacum* of the thirteenth-century polymath Bar Hebraeus and the Armenian abridgement of Michael's history (likewise a thirteenth-century work) place Leo's iconoclasm immediately after Yazid's and explicitly assert that Leo imitated the caliph's example. (In Appendix 4B, it is argued that both

⁸⁸ The Armenian material on Yazid's iconoclasm, wherein no mention at all is made of Leo, is discussed in Appendix 1A.

⁸⁹ See the next page for a schematic summary of the source analysis of the Byzantine material.

*Stemma of Byzantine and Latin Accounts of
Leo's and Yazid's Iconoclasm*



Unbroken lines indicate fairly certain literary dependence; broken lines denote less certain derivation. Addition of a question mark implies that the relation is even more hypothetical. A wavy arrow indicates the literary fixation of oral material.

Bar Hebraeus and the Armenian epitome are dependent on the same lost Syriac abridgement of Michael's chronicle.) However, the important conclusion that emerges from our source analysis is that in Christian

Arabic and Syriac historiography no *rapprochement* was made between Leo's and Yazid's policy toward images; a connection between the two was only produced by twelfth- and thirteenth-century amalgamators and redactors of the earlier historical material.

The results of the foregoing investigation of Byzantine and oriental sources that give information about Leo's and Yazid's iconoclasm will now be briefly summarized. The Byzantine tradition, against a background of persistent and inchoate accusations of the Jewish and Muslim inspiration of iconoclasm, elaborated the sinister encounters of Jewish soothsayers with these iconoclastic rulers. Though the historical value of the numerous Byzantine accounts involving Yazid, Leo and the Jewish magicians in various combinations was seen to be quite negligible, the analysis of this material affords, it is hoped, valuable insight into the way in which oral tradition was absorbed, transmitted, and elaborated by the written sources of this period. In the Armenian, Syriac, and Christian Arabic sources, Yazid's measures are not linked to Jewish inspiration, occult or otherwise.⁹⁰ The earlier oriental notices on Leo's iconoclasm do not link it to Yazid's policy; this connection is made by later epitomators, apparently on purely redactional grounds, not on the basis of additional historical information. (The same oriental sources, without exception, make Leo a strict Chalcedonian, whose reign was marked by the persecution of both Jews and non-orthodox Christians.) In short, then, our analysis of these Byzantine and oriental sources does not give much support to modern theories of Jewish or Muslim influence on incipient Byzantine iconoclasm.

The conclusions we have arrived at here will perhaps bear some emphasizing. The detailed analysis of the sources indicates that none of the various reports about Jewish or Muslim iconoclastic influence on Leo is historically reliable; we have taken some pains to demonstrate that the Byzantine tradition is merely a classic example of the tendentious written and oral elaboration of legend. The connection between the two historical facts of Leo's and Yazid's iconoclastic measures in the oriental sources is a purely literary creation, due to

⁹⁰ However, Michael's sources are emphatic about the Jewish inspiration of 'Umar I's command forbidding the Christian cultic display of the cross (ed. Chabot, IV, 421, tr. II, 431-432). A similar account occurs in Theophanes (I, 342, 22-28). Michael also mentions the destruction of images ordered by the governor 'Amru in Syria. No connection is made by this chronicler between 'Umar's and Yazid's measures.

redactors working several hundred years after the events in question. We do not intend to deny the possibility of Muslim or Jewish influence on Leo's iconoclastic decision; such a negative assertion would rest only on an argument from silence, always precarious. But, by the same token, anyone who wishes to speculate about or to posit extraneous influences on the early Byzantine iconoclasts, on Leo in particular, ought to be able to cite some reliable supporting documentary evidence; if our analysis of the material is correct, it is not enough to refer to the well-known Byzantine texts which claim that Leo imitated Yazid and the Jews in his impiety. It is not sufficient to point out that Yazid's iconoclastic campaign almost immediately preceded that of Leo; unless one can indeed prove that Leo was well-informed about, and was led to imitate, the iconoclastic measures of the caliph in Syria — and in order to show this, it would be necessary to vindicate the historicity of some, at least, of the stories about the peregrinating Jews, Constantine of Nacolia, and Beser — any speculation about the possible connection of Leo's and Yazid's iconoclastic measures must remain to the highest degree tentative.⁹¹

⁹¹ P. Lemerle in his study *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), arrives at a like negative conclusion concerning the relation of Yazid's and Leo's measures (pp. 32-33), as does A. Sharf in *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), p. 69. K. A. C. Creswell also rejects the theory of Muslim inspiration for Byzantine iconoclasm, though apparently he accepts at face value the story of Yazid and the Jew in the *Narratio*; he adduces it as proof for the thesis that Muslim iconoclasm is a Jewish import ('The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam', *Ars Islamica* 11-12 (1946), pp. 159-66). Though the historicity of the Jewish magician of the *Narratio* is open to doubt (see Appendix 3C), it seems to be clear that the negative Muslim attitude to certain types of images was not a constant feature of early Islam, and became evident only later, in the eighth century. Learned Muslim opinion concerning images was by no means monolithic, and there existed even an iconophile faction among the legal experts (see B. Farès, 'Philosophie et jurisprudence illustrées par les Arabes: La Querelle des Images en Islam', in *Mélanges Louis Massignon* II (Damascus, 1967), p. 101, 104). Since the Qur'an offers no sure prescriptions on images, the historian has to work with the 'tradition', (Hadith) and legal material, none of which was codified before the latter half of the eighth century (see the collection of passages in R. Paret, 'Textbelege zum islamischen Bilderverbot', in *Das Werk des Künstlers: Studien ... Hubert Schrade ... dargestellt ...* (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 36-48, esp. p. 37; cf. the same author's 'Die Lücke in der Überlieferung über den Urislam' in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen, Rudolf Tschudi ... überreicht ...* (Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 150). It is hoped that the *Narratio* and other Byzantine accounts have been shown to be the very opposite of straightforward historical evidence; the chronology and nature of the Islamic material proper should, it seems to me, also dispose the student of Byzantine iconoclasm to look elsewhere than Islam for the causes of the movement.

CHAPTER VIII

ICONOCLASM IN ASIA MINOR BEFORE 726

Before we discuss in detail Leo's own first iconoclastic measures, the question of the iconoclastic clergy in Asia Minor has to be treated. For the first time in this study we are in possession of genuine contemporary documents that do mention eighth-century iconoclasm and individual adherents of the movement. These texts are the letters of the patriarch Germanus, to three bishops of Asia Minor,¹ and a passage from Germanus' own *De Haeresibus et Synodis*,² written after the patriarch's deposition (730).

There is no need to rehearse at great length the situation which the letters reveal.³ The letter to John of Synada,⁴ which was supposed to be delivered by Constantine of Nacolia⁵ (ostensibly saved by Germanus' arguments from iconoclastic error), does not throw much light on the attitude of the addressee; most of the letter is taken up by a defense of images which is of no interest to us now. The indirect evidence, however, which can be gained from the arguments of Germanus in this, as well as the other two letters will be discussed when we come to the ideology of early iconoclasm.⁶ All that can be immediately said about the metropolitan John on the basis of this letter is that Germanus suspected him of favoring the image-breakers. The second letter was written to Constantine of Nacolia, upbraiding him for not delivering the missive to his superior.⁷ The significance of

¹ Mansi XIII, 100B-128A.

² PG 98, 77-80.

³ See Ostrogorsky, *Les débuts*, pp. 236-38; Beck, *Iconoklasmus*, pp. 33-34.

⁴ Synada (*Σινάδα*, present-day Şuhut), an archbishopric in Phrygia (*Atlas sur KG*, p. 21). The see already existed in the fifth century (*op. cit.*, p. 8A).

⁵ *Νακολία* (present-day Seyitgazi) was a suffragan bishopric of Synada (*Atlas sur KG*, p. 21). Nacolia was temporarily captured by the Muslims in one late eighth-century campaign (Theophanes I, 456); but, of course, unlike the region of Mar'aš, Phrygia was not ever under continuous Muslim rule in this period. In 787 the bishop of Nacolia, Nicetas, was present at the Council (Mansi XIII, 148D), but, unfortunately, no reminiscences of his about his notorious predecessor are recorded.

⁶ See pp. 103 ff.

⁷ Mansi XIII, 105B-108A.

Constantine's reliance on certain biblical texts, which Germanus cites, will be discussed later;⁸ what is of importance here is that Constantine is not yet accused of having perpetrated any overt iconoclastic acts. There is no sure indication in this letter that Constantine is the leader or chief theoretician of the iconoclasts; he seems to have acted as the spokesman for a group, but with no special authority.

The first actual acts of iconoclasm are attested for the bishop Thomas of Claudiopolis.⁹ Thomas is the addressee of Germanus' third letter,¹⁰ which was definitely written before Leo's own iconoclastic intentions became known to the patriarch.¹¹ Thomas, during his visit to the capital, did not reveal his iconoclastic sentiments to the patriarch, and began an overt iconoclastic campaign upon returning to his diocese.¹² This is more than a matter of abstract theological disputations: Thomas, Germanus says, *τὴν τῶν εἰκόνων καθαίρεισιν* ... *ἐποιήσατο*. Neither Germanus' feelings of personal hurt and betrayal, nor his long iconological apology, which takes up most of the letter, are of concern here. Germanus' appeal to an *εἰκὼν* of apostles and prophets, apparently a group composition, erected by the emperors in

⁸ See ch. IX, n. 42.

⁹ The Claudiopolis (Κλαυδιούπολις) in question can either be the metropolitan see by that name in the province of Honorias (north-west Asia Minor), or a suffragan bishopric of the see of Seleucia, in the province of Isauria (*Atlas zur KG*, p. 21). John of Synada and Constantine of Nacolia were both addressed by Germanus as bishops, in identical terms (though in his letter to Constantine, Germanus notes that John is a metropolitan *ὁ θεοφιλέστατος τῆς Συναδῶν μετροπολίτης* (Mansi XIII, 105B); but, from the terms of address, one cannot tell whether Thomas was indeed a metropolitan or a simple bishop. If Thomas was bishop of Isaurian Claudiopolis (present-day Mut-Viran), the Isaurian setting of Leo's encounter with the iconoclastic soothsayers gains a little more plausibility; the «Isaurian» aspect of the legend may have been elaborated with the knowledge that, from the beginning, Isauria was a hot-bed of iconoclasm (cf. ch. VII, n. 71.). But, of course, there is no definite evidence that Leo had any contact with the iconoclastic clergy when he was *strategos* of the Anatolic theme, or earlier. R. Janin, in his articles on the two Claudiopoleis (DHGE 12 [1953], col. 1077-79), does not mention Thomas.

¹⁰ Mansi XIII, 108A-127A.

¹¹ Mansi XIII, 124E. Germanus appeals to the iconophile example of *οἱ ... εὐσεβέστατοι καὶ φιλόχριστοι ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς*.

¹² ... ἀλλὰ πάντῃ τὰ περὶ τούτου ἐν τελείᾳ σιωπῇ παρ' ἡμῶν ποιησαμένη, ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὴν πόλει γεγενημένη, ὡς ἀπὸ δόγματος κοῖνου καὶ ἀναντιρρήτου τυνὸς διασκέψεως τὴν τῶν εἰκόνων καθαίρεισιν, ὡς μεμαθήκαμεν, ἐποιήσατο, εἰ τὸ ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει, πάλιν ἀροῦμεν. (Mansi XIII, 108E).

front of the royal palace, is, however, of some interest.¹³ Having described this group portrait,¹⁴ which was provided with appropriate inscriptions,¹⁵ Germanus claims that the emperors, by this means, «proclaimed the saving cross to be the glory of their own faith.»¹⁶ This phrase, to which we shall find abundant parallels in the iconoclastic iambics, is singularly inappropriate to the preceding brief *ekphrasis*; one would expect some mention of glorying in the true incarnation of the Savior or suchlike. We may, in fact, have here an authentic declaration of Leo, which Germanus insisted on interpreting in an iconophile sense.

These letters, then, reveal the existence of an active iconoclastic movement in certain parts of Asia Minor;¹⁷ the most prominent figure is Thomas of Claudiopolis, the first perpetrator of image-breaking, and the recipient of a tract much longer, and perceptibly more impassioned, than the epistles to the Phrygian bishops. There is not the slightest indication yet that these clerics acted in collusion with, or were encouraged by, Leo himself. The letters do not mention that the bishops had personal interviews with the emperor when they visited the capital; that they were fortified in their iconoclastic resolve by Leo's sympathetic response is, of course, a possibility, but one which is not indicated by the sources.

A somewhat different picture emerges from Germanus' description of early iconoclasm in his *De Haeresibus et Synodis*. Neither Thomas of Claudiopolis nor John of Synada is mentioned; exclusively Constantine of Nacolia is made the *fons malorum*.¹⁸

¹³ Mansi XIII, 124E-125A.

¹⁴ τί δέ, οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τὰ πάντα εὐσεβέστατοι καὶ φιλόχριστοι ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς στήλην ἀληθῶς τῆς οἰκείας φιλοθείας, τὴν πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων λέγειν εἰκόνα ἐγείραντες, ἐν ᾗ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν ἀναθέμενοι τὰς ἰδέας (Mansi XIII, 124E).

¹⁵ τὰς τούτων περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐγγράφοντες φωνάς ... (Mansi XIII, 124E-125A).

¹⁶ τῆς αὐτῶν πεποιθήσεως τὸ καύχημα τὸν σωτήριον σταυρὸν ἀνεκήρυξαν (Mansi XIII, 125A). It is interesting that this passage, though, of course, not an official formula as is the Ecloga title, still mentions the emperors in the plural; Constantine was only five or six years old at this time, and could hardly be concerned as yet with the image question.

¹⁷ Cf. ch. IX, n. 64.

¹⁸ It is interesting that Germanus does not call the iconoclasts heretics yet; to be sure, they are miscreants, impious, inspired by Satan and so forth, but, according to Germanus, they are set on disturbing the order and seemliness of the ecclesiastical cult rather than intending to attack basic dogmas. Germanus does not yet identify the iconoclasts as Manichees, monophysites or docetists who deny the true incarnation;

There appeared a certain bishop of Nacolia (as a certain small town in the eparchy of Phrygia is called),¹⁹ a man bereft of learning, seeking to hide, stupidly, his own opinion, gaping at the bare sight of the letter when reading the divinely-inspired Scriptures, who wrongly taught innovations, against the sacred pronouncements, and who armed himself to resist against the tradition of the Fathers.²⁰

Then, after having pointed to the demonic inspiration of these disorders, Germanus declares explicitly: «And the bishop (πρόεδρος) of the aforementioned town became the chief and guide [of these miscreants].» He had other helpers and fellow partisans from among the clergy, which fact, Germanus presumes, his correspondent Anthimus already knows.²¹

Having put the blame squarely on the bishop of Nacolia, Germanus, in an important passage, makes his only mention of the connection of the imperial authority with these disorders:²²

Maddened by pride, they²³ do not cease to raise dissension among the people; encouraged by each other,²⁴ they willingly go astray from the understanding

some of these charges are perhaps implicit in his polemic, but the emphasis still lies on preserving the peace of the church.

¹⁹ The syntax is awkward; it is possible that οὗτω καλουμένης πόλεως τῆς Φρυγῶν ἐπαρχίας is a secondary explanatory gloss. Curiously, just as in the *Narratio* and *Theophanes*, the bishop's name, Constantine, is not given. Of course, Germanus may have wanted to protect himself by not mentioning too many names; but it is also possible that he simply did not remember the name of the supposedly central figure of the movement. I suspect that in Constantine's appearing as only «the (pseudo) bishop of Nacolia» in all the documents, except the letters of Germanus, shows again that his importance was much less than commonly supposed. The ninth-century iconoclastic patriarch, John the Grammarian, is known by a plethora of names in the literature. (See, e.g., I. Ševčenko, «The Anti-Iconoclastic Poem in the *Pantocrator Psalter*», CA 15 [1965], pp. 45-47).

²⁰ Ἀνέφυ, γὰρ τις ἐπίσκοπος Νακολίας οὕτω καλουμένης πόλεως τῆς Φρυγῶν ἐπαρχίας, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἐλλόγιμος, ἀλογία δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκκαλύπτει φρόνησιν φανταζόμενος, ὅς ψιλῇ τῇ τοῦ γράμματος θεωρίᾳ ἐν τῇ τῶν θεοπνευμένων Γραφῶν ἀναγνώσει, προσκείμενός, καινουργεῖν παρὰ τὰ ἱεροπρεπῶς ἐκ πεφασμένα παρεδογμάτιζε, καὶ ταῖς πατρικαῖς κατέξανίστασθαι παραδόσεσιν ἀνθωπλιζέτο. (PG 98, 77A).

²¹ Καὶ τούτων ἐξάρχος τε καὶ ἡγήτωρ ὁ τῆς λαχθείσης καθέστηκε πύλεις πρόεδρος, ὁπαδοί τε καὶ συναϊρέται καὶ σύνδρομοι καὶ ἕτεροι τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ καταλόγου γεγονάσιν, οὓς καὶ κατ' ὄψιν ἡ ὑμετέρα τιμότης ἐγνώρισε. (PG 98, 77B).

²² PG 98, 80A ff.

²³ I.e. the ecclesiastical miscreants, οἱ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ καταλόγου.

²⁴ Literally, «rolled along by their own faction», ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς σφῶν συμμορίας συνελισσόμενοι.

of the truth and without restraint they dare to violate that which is sacred.²⁵ Therefore also amidst some people at the court itself and among all those who manage affairs on high, a senseless vexation is contrived against those who would act piously.²⁶

(The details of the persecutions which follow do not again mention the imperial power.)²⁷ This one hint of an imperial connection with incipient iconoclasm is quite vague; it certainly makes no explicit claim that Constantine of Nacolia personally incited Leo to embrace iconoclasm. Leo is not mentioned by name, nor is Constantine of Nacolia singled out as taking a leading role in the subsequent persecutions.

Germanus is faithful to his iconophile principles, but he is not a rebel; the only hint of «civil disobedience» comes where he declares that «God is the blessed and sole ruler» (ὁ μακάριος καὶ μόνος δυνάστης)²⁸ But Germanus does not dare to proclaim the independence of the church vis-à-vis the erring imperial power, as do John of Damascus (writing in safe Muslim territory) and, later, with genuine courage, Theodore of Studios. The real Germanus was very different from the legendary figure who would pronounce a woeful prophecy, before the whole court, at the baptism of the royal heir. In gauging the veracity of his testimony, it must be remembered that, though he did write in banishment, his exile was an honorable and comfortable one; it is very likely that the price of his being allowed to finish his days in peace, on his ancestral estates, was a very real οἰκονομία in speaking and writing about the emperor.²⁹ This circumspection which had to

²⁵ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναθημάτων ἀδεῶς κατατολμῶσιν ἐφάπτεσθαι. The ἀναθήματα here seem to mean dedicated objects, icons in particular.

²⁶ Διὸ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ κρατούντων τὰ πράγματα, ἐκμανῆς ἀνανάκτησις τοῖς εὐλαβῶς διάγειν προαιρουμένοις ἐπινοεῖται. (70B).

²⁷ The description of the persecutions seems singularly colorless coming from a contemporary; no names of martyrs or localities are mentioned. It is not impossible that the bare listing of the destruction of images, relics, etc., so much like similar passages in the later hagiographic literature, is a secondary interpolation. However, there are no obvious anachronisms, and in the next section we shall still assume that the passage comes from Germanus. J. Gouillard expresses some doubt about Germanus' authorship of this passage, but does not give his reasons (TM I [1965], p. 306, note 59).

²⁸ PG 98, 80C.

²⁹ Ostrogorsky lightly declares: «Toutefois, le patriarche Germanos, dans le traité *De haereticis et synodis* qu'il écrivit après sa déposition, c'est-à-dire à un moment où il n'avait plus rien à perdre, déclare que Constantin, évêque de Nacolia, fut l'ἐξάρχος τε καὶ ἡγήτωρ du mouvement iconoclaste.» (*Les débuts*, p. 236). Germanus had nothing

be observed did not as a matter of course extend to the persons of the Asia Minor bishops, lesser figures, and not necessarily under imperial protection. Constantine, in particular, is not mentioned either by Germanus or other sources as being active in the 730's; it is not impossible that he had already retired or passed away by that time.³⁰ When Germanus wrote *De Haeresibus et Synodis*, he would, of course, have remembered that Constantine had iconoclastic sentiments even before 726, and would have recalled the matter of the letter to John of Synada. Personal resentment, perhaps coupled with the knowledge that Constantine was not in a position to do any more harm, may have caused Germanus to exaggerate Constantine's importance as a heresiarch. It may well be that Thomas of Claudiopolis is not noted in this account because he was at the time of writing one of Leo's trusted advisers whom it would have been unsafe to mention by name.

The reality of pre-726 iconoclasm in Asia Minor, led by certain bishops designated by name, is indisputable. However, it does seem that Germanus' later testimony, the only contemporary evidence, unduly magnifies the importance of these ecclesiastical miscreants; Germanus may have been motivated by a *post hoc, propter hoc* kind of reasoning in providing an ancestry for Byzantine iconoclasm proper; moreover, one should not forget that free play could be given to the *odium theologicum* when discussing these figures — there was no danger of *lèse-majesté* in denigrating Constantine and his faction such as there would have been in mentioning the emperor Leo as a heretic. The contemporary polemic of John of Damascus does not even notice Constantine or the other bishops of Asia Minor. The early, shorter version of *Haeresis* 102 makes Leo the sole heresiarch. None of the Syriac, Arabic or Armenian sources are aware of any *éminence grise* behind the throne. Though the Byzantine sources do perpetuate a

to lose but his head. Knowing the tender mercies of Byzantine executions, it is not hard for anyone to see a great difference indeed between a comfortable exile, mere house arrest, so to speak, and, for instance, blinding, beheading or quartering in the Hippodrome.

³⁰ It is significant that the patriarch Anastasius is not mentioned by Germanus. The scene in the *Vita Stephani*, where Constantine of Nacolia reads out the *horos* of the Council of 754 in the presence of the saint (PG 99, 1144A) is, in my view, solely the invention of the hagiographer, who knew, from the *Acta* of 787, that Constantine was supposedly the heresiarch of the new movement. The confrontation of Constantine and Stephen is merely a dramatization of the encounter of two ideologies, in the manner of, say, Pythagoras' and Zoroaster's fictitious meeting in Babylon. Cf. ch. VII, n. 11. (end).

memory of Constantine, they all go back, as we shall see, to Germanus' account. The figure of Constantine is a colorless one; he certainly did not capture the popular imagination as did, say, the ninth-century iconoclastic patriarch, John Hylilas. It seems very likely that the figure of the evil heresiarch Constantine is, to a great extent, the creation of Germanus himself, to satisfy the need for a «straw man» to replace the veritable *ἐξαρχὸς καὶ ἡγήτωρ* of the movement, namely the emperor Leo himself.

It is instructive to trace the further transmission, in the Byzantine sources, of the traditions about Constantine. The *Noutheia*, written by an eye-witness about events that quite certainly took place in an eastern Asia Minor milieu,³¹ does not know the Anatolian antecedents of imperial iconoclasm, nor does the long recension of the *adversus Constantinum Caballinum* (ante 787). Constantine is, however, declared the heresiarch of the iconoclastic movement by the patriarch Tarasius, in his oral commentary on Germanus' letters, when these were read out during the Council proceedings. After the recital of Germanus' letter to John of Synada, Tarasius informed the assembly that this letter was not delivered by Constantine, and that «from him arose the origin of the heresy.»³² When the letter to Constantine was then read, Tarasius again emphasized that the originator of the new-fangled heresy was the bishop of Nacolia.³³ There is no evidence to show that Tarasius knew Germanus' account of Constantine in *De Haeresibus*

³¹ See Melloranskij, *Georgij i Ioann*, pp. 47 ff.

³² ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ τῆς αἵρέσεως ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. (Mansi XIII, 106B). Tarasius himself knew of Constantine's failure to deliver the letter to John only from this second letter of Germanus. It does not seem that Tarasius had any more historical information about these Asia Minor bishops than modern historians.

³³ ὡς καὶ προέφη, τίμιοι ἀδελφοί, ἡ εἰσαγωγή τῆς ἐπισκόπου καυτονομίας ταύτης γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ προειρημένου ἀνδρὸς ἐπισκόπου Νακολίας (Mansi XIII, 108A). According to Hadrian's letter to Irene and Constantine VI, Leo was misled by the incitement of some impious persons «... ipse vester proavus, per quorundam impiorum immissiones, easdem deposuit sacras imagines. Mansi XII, 1060E). Again this remark may have been designed to deflect the charge of «heresiarch» from the founder of the ruling dynasty. However, the same politic motive could hardly have been at work in the Lombard king Liutprand's *titulus* for the Church of St. Anastasius, where again the charge of sinister influence on Leo occurs (Quando Leo cecidit misero doctore suasus/ Scismatis in foveam recto de culmine Caesar/... ed. E. Dümmler, *Tituli saeculi VIII, MGH Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, t. 1 (Berlin, 1881), p. 106, no. 12 (lines 1-2). On this last text, cf. O. Bertolini «Quale fu il vero obiettivo assegnato in Italia da Leone III 'Isaurico' all'armata di Manes...» *Byzantinische Forschungen* 2 (1967), p. 36.

et Synodis; Tarasius would certainly have introduced it, as very relevant evidence indeed. Rather, Tarasius, anxious to dissociate the ruling dynasty from the taint of heresy, and conveniently having been presented with these letters from the patriarchal archives, produced them at the Council to show that iconoclasm was not, so to speak, «born in the purple.» We already saw that Germanus, from different motives; put the blame on Constantine, or at least unduly emphasized his role; here we have Tarasius, from political considerations, accentuating independently (on the basis of Germanus' earlier letters), Constantine's role, to the entire exclusion of Leo. The same policy was at work in the *Narratio* of John of Jerusalem, very much a «command performance». There, as we have already seen, the transmission of the heresy is given via the Jews to Yazid, and then, in an unspecified manner, to Constantine of Nacolia. Leo is not even mentioned in this officially-sanctioned account. In Theophanes' version, of course, Leo, and after him, Beser, play the central role; Constantine is mentioned, but only as a secondary figure: *συνεφρόνει δὲ κακῶς αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας ἀνάπλεως καὶ συντρόφῳ ἀπαιδευσίᾳ συζῶν Νακωλείας ὁ ἐπίσκοπος.*³⁴ Theophanes is faithful to his source material which included apparently accounts presented at the Council; but, of course, writing in the ninth century, he is no longer under the necessity of whitewashing the defunct «Isaurian» dynasty. Accordingly, in Theophanes' account Constantine takes on a minor role which was probably nearer to the true state of affairs than the «official» version of 787. As we already noted, in *Haeresis* 102 *aucla* and the *Vita Stephani*, though the figure of Constantine is preserved, Leo and Constantine V are also, rightly, introduced. In the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* and Georgius Hamartolus Constantine of Nacolia does not appear at all. As we have previously noted, non-Byzantine historiography and polemic are totally silent about the Asia Minor bishops.

In short, it seems that the role of Constantine of Nacolia, a historical but decidedly minor figure, has been magnified, for various reasons, at first by Germanus, writing in the 730's, and then by Tarasius in 787. Modern scholarship, though not particularly concerned with clearing the family of «the new Constantine and the new Helena» from the onus of heresy, has somewhat uncritically accepted Germanus' and

³⁴ Theophanes, I, 402, 16-18.

Tarasius' historical judgments.³⁵ It seems that an artificial filiation between the Asia Minor movement and Byzantine iconoclasm proper is thereby created, an artificiality which was then to some extent already rectified in the «non-official» Byzantine sources. The origin of the movement with which we are properly concerned still has to be sought with the emperor Leo.³⁶

³⁵ E. g. P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), pp. 34-36. H. Ahrweiler peremptorily asserts that the iconoclastic policies of Leo III and his successors were designed to cater to the populace of Asia Minor («L'Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes», *Revue Historique* 227 [1962], p. 23). Be that as it may with respect to Leo's successors, as far as Leo is concerned this could only be shown in the precise context of his relations, if any, with the Asia Minor bishops.

³⁶ Of course, this is all quite separate from the question of how much subsequent support the imperial policy found in Asia Minor, and the later role of Anatolian clerics in the iconoclastic movement.

CHAPTER IX

«OFFICIAL» ICONOCLASM
DURING LEO'S REIGN AND ITS IDEOLOGY

The first «official» acts of iconoclasm, which most probably did include the destruction of the famous Chalce image,¹ took place in the late summer, or in the autumn of 726. Theophanes puts the Chalce incident after the volcanic eruption near Thera and Therasia (which occurred in the summer, *ὥρα θέρος*).² Nicephorus, like Theophanes, reports that the emperor regarded this disaster as a supernatural omen, and straightway embarked on his iconoclastic course.³ Though Nicephorus does not mention the Chalce image, he reports that the emperor's iconoclastic convictions were made so overt as to provoke the uprising in the Helladic and Cycladic themes.⁴ The oriental

¹ The history of this icon is well discussed in Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 130-42, and Mango, *Brazen House*, pp. 108-148. Ostrogorsky, *Les débuts*, pp. 238-42, provides a collection of the Byzantine references to the imperial policy between 726 and 730.

² *Ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἔτει, ἡδικοῦντος θ', ὥρα θέρος, ἀπὸς ὡς ἐκ καμίνου πυρὸς ἀνέβρασαν ἀναμέσον Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας ...* (I, 404, 18-19). Thereupon, [*λέων*] τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ θείαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λογισάμενος ἀναιδέστερον κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ἤγειρε πόλεμον ... (I, 405, 1-2). The destruction of the Chalce icon follows (I, 405, 5-14). The *ὥρα θέρος* fits well with the earlier promulgation of the Ecloga in March 726 (see ch. VI, n. 1). It will be recalled that the programmatic preamble of the code makes no reference to the image struggle. Leo may already have engaged in pro-iconoclastic propaganda prior to the summer of 726. (Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἤρξατο ὁ δυσσεβὴς βασιλεὺς Λέων τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων καθαιρέσεως λόγον ποιῆσθαι. (I, 404, 3-4). But these were still tentative moves; Leo may not yet have committed himself in writing, so to speak.

³ *Breviarium*, ed. de Boor, 57, 21-27. Ταῦτά φασιν ἀκούσαντα τὸν βασιλέα ὑπολαμβάνειν θείας ὀργῆς εἶναι μηνύματα, καὶ ἦτις αἰτία ταῦτα κινήσας, διασκέπτεσθαι ... ἐκδιδάσκειν δὲ τὸν λαὸν τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπεχίρει δόγμα.

⁴ *Breviarium*, 57, 27-58, 2. πολλοὶ γοῦν τὴν ὕβριν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπωλοφύροντο. διὸ δὴ καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους οἰκούντες οὐ προσιέμενοι τὸ δυσσεβήμα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διαστασιάζουσι. The parallel account of Theophanes attributes the revolt explicitly to the destruction of the Chalce icon (I, 405, 15 ff). The story of the riot in Theophanes is quite sober and factual, though definitely of iconophile provenance; it represents a second stage of narrative elaboration (based on some reliable information, perhaps oral), as compared to Nicephorus' rather vague statement that «many bewailed this violence done to the Church.» (πολλοὶ γοῦν τὴν ὕβριν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπωλοφύροντο). There is no compelling reason to reject Theophanes' date of 726 nor the basic historicity

chronicles concur in this dating for the beginning of the iconoclastic struggle. Agapius, who follows a reliable chronological scheme for the period,⁵ apparently puts Leo's iconoclastic measures in the second regnal year of Hišām (= 725/6), but definitely before the third (= 726/7).⁶ Michael the Syrian dates Leo's iconoclastic campaign to A.S. 1036, which likewise yields 725/6.⁷ Thus, even if one leaves out of consideration the destruction of the Chalce image,⁸ it is quite clear that Leo, in some way, first showed himself to be an active iconoclast around 726.

Germanus was not forced to retire until 730,⁹ when, having been summoned to an imperial *silention*, he definitely refused to support Leo's iconoclastic policy.¹⁰ Nicephorus, though not explicit about

of the narrative. This, however, does not hold for other more fanciful hagiographic accounts (see Appendix 5B). I think that the iconoclastic source, which was closely followed by Nicephorus and also utilized by Theophanes, ignored on purpose the destruction of the icon and its rather unfortunate repercussions; a spontaneous riot of this sort hardly presents the faithful population as wholeheartedly behind the emperor. However, by this omission, the Helladic rebellion is made something of a *non sequitur*. Theophanes, in possession of authentic information, supplements the source and, in fact, gives the true reason for the uprising in the western themes. Reports of imperial *speeches* only, against «idolatry», would hardly have incited the provinces to rebellion; but news, probably wildly exaggerated, of violent destruction of the holy icons, coupled with bloody persecution of their worshippers, would and did cause a revolt. Though the date is disputable (see Appendix 5B), the destruction of the Chalce image is a historical fact.

⁵ See Appendix 4A, note 4.

⁶ Ed. Vasiliev, p. 505, 1-2.

⁷ Ed. Chabot, IV, 457 (tr. II, 491). The chronology which Bar Hebraeus and the Armenian epitome produce is of no value since both represent purely redactorial rearrangement of the material (see Appendix 4B).

⁸ Some aspects of this event are discussed in Appendix 5B.

⁹ Theophanes gives the precise date: on the seventh of January of the thirteenth indiction, on the third day of the week. τῇ 8ῃ ἔ' τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς τῆς ιγ' ἡδικτιῶνος, ἡμέρα γ' τῆς ἑβδομάδος (I, 408, 31-32), i.e. Tuesday, January 7, 730. Anastasius was consecrated on the 22nd (408, 11-12). Cf. И. Андреев (I. Andreev), Константинопольские Патриархи (Sergiev Posad, 1895), p. 196.

¹⁰ Theophanes I, 408, 31-409, 11. This *silention* was not an ecclesiastical synod, as Germanus' words make quite clear «ἐὰν ἐγὼ εἴμι Ἰωνᾶς, βάλειτέ με εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. Χωρὶς γὰρ οἰκουμένης συνόδου καινοτομήσαι πιστὴν δδύναντόν μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ». (409, 7-9). Cf. ἄνευ οἰκουμένης συνόδου ἐγγραφὸν πιστὴν οὐκ ἐκτίθεμαι (Nicephorus, *Breviarium* 58, 21-22). It is very unlikely that Germanus simply misses the presence of representatives from the other patriarchates. (At the heretical synod of 712, where Germanus declared his adherence to the monothelite error, there certainly was no such «ecumenical» attendance.) This *silention* was just an imperial cabinet meeting, so to speak. The

the date of Germanus' resignation, puts it after the Muslim siege of Nicaea.¹² The exact date is, however, of less importance than the fact that the « changing of the guard » did not immediately follow the first iconoclastic campaign of 726. The internal and external difficulties which prompted the postponement do not concern us here;¹³ it seems to be quite clear, however, that neither the Asia Minor clerics nor the new patriarch Anastasius played any major part. The tempo of the campaign against images followed Leo's own intentions and calculations.

It is not our aim here to produce a fever chart of the persecutions during Leo's reign; of more interest than a roster of martyrs is the

Synodicon Vetus, a anti-Photian compilation, merely misinterprets the chronicles when it states: *Λέων ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενος Σύνοδον ...* (J. A. Fabricius - G. C. Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, t. XII [Hamburg, 1809], p. 412.) The indoctrination sessions arranged by Constantine V are called *silentia* in Theophanes: *σιλέντια καθ' ἑκάστην ποιῶν τὸν λαὸν ἐπειθε πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτοῦ φρόνημα δοξίας ἐπεσθαι* (I, 427, 20-22). Cf. A. Christophilopulu, « *ΣΙΛΕΝΤΙΟΝ* » BZ 44 (1951), p. 82.

¹² According to Nicephorus, the Arab attack failed, but, in contrast to Theophanes, no supernatural succour is indicated. *καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι πρὸς τὴν περικυβερτούμενην τῆς Βιθυνίας πόλιν Νίκαιαν καλουμένην - ἐπὶ τινὰ χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας ἔχοντες τοὺς ἀπρακτοὺς ἀπεπέμποντο.* (*Breviarium*, 58, 13-16). Michael the Syrian recounts a (successful) siege of Nicaea in A.S. 1039 (= 727/8), ed. Chabot, IV, 462-63 (tr. II, 501). Theophanes puts the siege in A.M. 6218 (= 727/8), I, 405, 25 ff. Only Theophanes mentions the destruction of an image of the Virgin by a *strator* of Artavasdus during the siege of Nicaea; this is the sole instance of « military » iconoclasm in this early period. See Kaegi *ByzSlav* 27 (1967), p. 53. The miraculous appearance of the Virgin to the soldier, as well as the deliverance of the city by the properly honored images of the Council Fathers, indicate that Theophanes is reproducing patriotic « local » iconophile legends here; it should be recalled that the chronicler was abbot of a Bithynian convent. Michael's account of Arab success is probably to be attributed to the influence of Muslim sources which converted well nigh all the early campaigns against the Byzantines into stunning victories; but Michael seems to be recounting the same siege as the Byzantine chroniclers. However, none of the extant Muslim chronicles seem to have mentioned the event. (Cf. Brooks in JHS 18 [1898], p. 199.) Agapius does not note the siege, either.

¹³ The popular opposition, perhaps quite unexpected, which was shown by the Chalce riot, the subsequent uprising in the Helladic theme, the new Muslim raids in Asia Minor, with the attendant siege of Nicaea — all these certainly could be sufficient reasons for Leo to postpone full implementation of his iconoclastic policy until 730. It is quite likely that, in the meantime, the emperor attempted to convert Germanus, and perhaps also the pope, to his iconoclastic views. However, the apocryphal correspondence of Gregory cannot be used to reconstruct these negotiations, as Ostrogorsky has attempted (*Les débuts*, pp. 242-55). See Gouillard, in TM3 (1968), p. 265.

exact scope of the early acts of iconoclasm.¹⁴ Whether or not relics and the veneration of saints were attacked, along with the image cult, is of obvious importance in a study of iconoclastic ideology. To this question we shall then turn.

Perhaps the earliest detailed account is in Germanus' *De Haeresibus et Synodis*, written in the early 730's.¹⁵ We have already noted Germanus' cryptic mention of the sinister influence emanating from the imperial court, which resulted in severe trials for the faithful.¹⁶ After a brief description of the various punishments inflicted on the orthodox, Germanus continues:

Those who now preach this doctrine were not satisfied with taking off the images of the saints on panels,¹⁷ but they would utterly destroy the matching

¹⁴ In view of the silence of the early sources, it seems to be unprofitable to speculate whether or not Leo in fact pursued a campaign against monks as such. The one exception is the anonymous eleventh century Bruxelles chronicle which singles out monks as objects of Leo's wrath (*μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔρρηξε τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας καὶ πῦρ κατέκαυσε, τοὺς δὲ μοναχοὺς οὐ διέλιπε τυφλῶν καὶ ἐξορίζων*, ed. F. Cumont, *Anecdota Bruzelliensia* I (Gand, 1894), p. 31, 20-22).

¹⁵ PG 98, 80BC; there is a slight possibility that the passage is an interpolation (see ch. VIII, n. 27). In view of the description of the iconoclastic persecutions, I fail to see why J. Meyendorff asserts, without questioning the literary unity of the work, that « [in *De Haeresibus et Synodis*] even before the iconoclastic decrees, Germanus... established the bases of Orthodox apologetics » (*Christ in Eastern Christian Thought*, p. 136). Such a statement assumes that, though there were no « iconoclastic decrees » before 730, the persecution and the destruction of the images were as thoroughgoing as the text describes. However, the work was most probably written by Germanus in exile, after his deposition; he complains about the lack of books (*ἄλλως τε μήτε βιβλίου τινὸς ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῦτο ὑπονοῦς ... ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ἀναγνώσεως καθὼς ἡδυνήθεν ἐπιμνησθῆναι ...* [PG 98, 80D-81A]). Such lack of library facilities would hardly have been the case before Germanus' deposition and banishment. If Germanus wrote this work prior to the outbreak of iconoclasm, he was even more of a prophet than Theophanes and the *adversus Constantinum* made him out to be.

¹⁶ See above, ch. VIII, n. 26.

¹⁷ PG 98, 80B *τῇ δὲ σανίδων μόνον ἐκποιήσαι τὰ τῶν ἁγίων περιαιρεσθαι εἰκονίσματα*. A *σανίς* is a tablet or board; if Germanus had meant statues as the Latin version takes it, he would have used *στήλαι* or *ἀνδράπαιδες* as in his account of the statue of the *haemorrhoides* (PG 98, 185D-188B). Andreev has the interesting hypothesis that, in 730, the iconoclastic attack shifted from statues to images. (« *Св. Германъ, патріархъ константинопольскій* » BV 1897 [June], pp. 312-315). This more radical policy occasioned Germanus' resignation: the patriarch himself had reservations about the cultic use of statues (*οὐ τοῦτο δὲ λέγομεν ἡμῖς, ὥστε τὰς ἐκ χαλκοῦ στήλας ἐπιτηδεύειν ἡμῖς* [Mansi XIII, 125E]); however, he could not acquiesce in the destruction of icons. Andreev's explanation, though ingenious, is quite untenable. Andreev wrongly takes

painted decoration¹⁷ of the most venerable temples. They, moreover, laid hands on the honored and holy figurative table coverings¹⁸ of the holy sanctuaries, adorned in gold and purple, and took them away to their own houses, because the pictures of saints were found depicted on them.¹⁹ In addition, it was not enough for them to perpetrate [this] full measure of all unholiness; for they [also] stripped bare the relics of the blessed and famous martyrs, which had been gathered by the teachers of the church, and put into precious caskets, and piling [these relics] in heaps, they destroyed them by fire.²⁰

διδ' οὐρανῶν as meaning some kind of wood-carving (рѣзные или высѣченныя; Mango, *Brazen House*, p. 173, n. 22, notes that Andreev may have been misled by the Latin translation in Migne.) The Chalco image was definitely a mosaic, not a statue (see Grabar, *L'iconoclasm*, p. 133); moreover, there is no literary evidence for the existence of a group of iconoclasts who opposed solely images in the round. Incidentally, the *Patria* attributes to one Hellodorus (qualifies as «impious», hence an iconoclast) the erection of a sculptured group, representing the twelve winds, during Leo's reign. Τὸ δὲ Ἀνεμοδοῦρον τὸ χαλκῶν ἐστηλώθη παρὰ Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Λέοντος τοῦ Συρρυγενοῦς, καθὼς εἰσιν ἐστηλωμένοι οἱ β' ἀνεμοί. (ed. Preger, p. 253, 9-12). Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, ed. 2 (Paris, 1964), p. 100.

¹⁷ τὴν ἐν γραφίδι ἐφέμλλον τούτοις κόσμησιν τῶν σεπτοτάτων ρεῶν. The term ἐν γραφίδι probably refers to wall painting here (γραφίς properly means «stylus» or «paint-brush»); at any rate, κόσμησις ἐν γραφίδι is a more essential part of church decoration than the panel paintings of the previous clause. Of course, there may only be a rhetorical progression, from the less to the more important, in this description of the first iconoclastic measures; however, I think the text can bear a chronological interpretation: it would have involved more prior preparation to destroy extensive frescoes or mosaics than did the simple removal of panel paintings. (The destruction of the Chalco mosaic in 726 is a special case which does not invalidate this interpretation. Here Germanus is talking about the systematic elimination of the figurative decoration in churches.)

¹⁸ τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς θυσιαστηρίοις τῶν σεβασμίων καὶ ἱερῶν τραπεζώσεως συμβολικὰ ἐπεσδύματα. P. Speck, «Die ENΔΥΤΗ. Literarische Quellen zur Bekleidung des Altars in der byzantinische Kirche», *Jahrbuch der österr. byz. Gesellschaft* 15 (1966), pp. 323-375, does not note this passage in his collection of sources.

¹⁹ ὅτι καὶ χαρακτηρὲς ἁγίων εὐρηγται ἱστορούμενοι. This is a good example to show that χαρακτηρ does not mean «statue», though in this case the word might well refer to embroidery of some sort (cf. Mango, *Brazen House*, p. 116).

²⁰ τὰ γὰρ τῶν μακαρίων καὶ δοιδίμων μαρτύρων λείψανα ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διδασκάλων συγκομισθέντα, καὶ ἐν τιμίαις κιβωτίοις σωρηδὸν ἐντεθέντα, ἀπογυμνώσαντες, πυρὶ κατανάλωσαν. I think that σωρηδὸν should come after ἀπογυμνώσαντες; the relics were not heaped up in the reliquaries, but, rather, after the iconoclasts took them from the caskets (ἀπογυμνώσαντες), prior to their incineration. The author emphasizes that the persecutors wanted to trample on and dishonor the athletes of the faith (τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς διὰ πίστιν ἡθληκότας, καταπατήσαι καὶ ἀτιμάσαι σπουδάσαντες). Much of the impact of the sacrilegious acts would have been lost if, in the narrative, the imperial agents had decently buried the remains instead of disposing of them by these grisly bonfires. I wonder if there isn't a literary echo here of stories of the pagan persecutions,

The foregoing is an informative passage, which deserves further attention. In distinguishing between the destruction of panel paintings (διδ' οὐρανῶν) and wall-paintings (ἐν γραφίδι), Germanus does not intend to condone the former acts of iconoclasm; rather, he wants to emphasize that the beauty of the ecclesiastical cult was quite obliterated by the latter measures, more than by the less drastic removal of portable icons only. The appropriation of valuable altar cloths by the imperial agents, on the pretext of the decorative saints' images, is quite credible; in fact, the council of 754 sought to check such abuse.²¹ Germanus is quite unequivocal about the desecration and burning of the sacred remains; the valuable reliquaries were presumably carried off by the iconoclasts for their pains.

The shorter version of *Haeresis* 102 in the *Πηγὴ Γνώσεως*, even if not written by the Damascene himself, definitely dates from the period of Leo's reign. The heresiographer knows only Leo as the leader of the iconoclasts, whom he calls, punning on the emperor's name, *θυμολέοντες*.²² The account, less detailed than Germanus', and, as we have previously argued, probably of Palestinian provenance, reports only the destruction of images, but not that of relics.

[The are called] iconoclasts, because, embracing in all ways a dishonorable policy, they have given over the holy and august images to being broken and burned. In a like manner, they either scraped off, or obliterated [«made unfit»] with lime and black paint, the [images] on walls.²³

The absence of reference to altar furnishings is noteworthy; the in which the authorities are often shown as taking every precaution that the relics of the martyrs be burned and scattered to the four winds.

²¹ Mansi XIII, 329DE. Ὅριζομεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, μὴ τολμᾶν ἄνθρωπον τὸν οἰοῦν, ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ἢ εὐαγοῦς οἴκου προσεστώτα, προφάσει ἐκμειώσεως τῆς εἰκόνων πλάνης ἐπιβαλεῖν τὰς αὐτοῦ χεῖρας εἰς ἀφιερωμένα τῷ Θεῷ ἅγια σκευὴ χάριν μεταποιήσεως, τοῦ εἶναι αὐτὰ ἐνζῶδα. Cf. 332BD. The Ecloga also severely punishes the theft of church vessels (ed. Zacharia, Titl. 17, c. 15 [p. 46]).

²² Θυμολέοντες δέ, [εἰσι καὶ λέγονται] ὅτι καιρὸν ἐξουσίας λαβόντες, τὴν αἵρεσιν τῷ θυμῷ καθοπλίσαντες, τοὺς ταύτας ἀποδεχομένους αἰκισμοῖς καὶ βασάνοις ἀμέτρως ἐτιμωρήσαντο. Πλὴν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἰρεσιάρχου διαβὼν τὴν ἐκωνυμίαν (PG 94, 773A). Θυμολέων can mean «lion-hearted», «courageous», as well as «furious» or «raging». Is it possible that the writer is interpreting in *malam partem* an epithet which the iconoclasts themselves accepted? However, admittedly, θυμός is more often used in the sense of «anger» or «wrath», than in that of «courage» or «spiritedness».

²³ Εἰκονοκλάσαι δέ, ὅτι τὰς αὐτὰς ἀγίας καὶ σεπτὰς εἰκόνας, πᾶσιν ἄτιμον προαίρεσιν ἐνδεξάμενοι, συντριβῇ, καὶ πυρὶ παραδεδώκαν. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις, τὰς μὲν ἀπέξεσαν, τὰς δὲ ἀοφέτω καὶ μέλανι ἠχρεώσαν. (PG 94, 774AB).

mention of both portable icons and wall paintings agrees with Germanus' account.

Nicephorus' *Breviarium* gives no details about the persecution of the 730's.²⁴ By contrast, Theophanes defines quite explicitly the scope of Leo's radical policies:

But not only in the matter of the «relative» veneration of the holy images the impious one went astray, but also with regard to the pre-eminence of the all-holy Theotokos and all the saints; and the loathsome one [sc. Leo] abominated their relics, as did his teachers the Arabs.²⁵

Though the passage is quite explicit, it lacks corroborating evidence; it is not even clear on what authority Theophanes depended in making this statement. Moreover, he does not assert that Leo burned the relics but, more vaguely, that he «contemned» them (ἐβδελύττετο). The *Acta Martyrum Constantinopolitanorum* do give a speech, before Germanus' long oration, wherein the emperor declares: «οὐ μὴ δίκαιον

²⁴ The chronicle merely says: πολλοὶ τῶν εὐσεβούντων, ὅσοι τῷ βασιλεὶ οὐ συνετίθεντο δόγματι, τιμωρίας πλείστας καὶ αἰκιζμοὺς ὑπέμεινον (58, 26-27).

²⁵ οὐ μόνον γὰρ περὶ τὴν σχετικὴν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ὁ δυσσεβὴς ἐσφάλλετο προσκύνησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πρεσβυῶν τῆς πανάγνου θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων· καὶ τὰ λείψανα αὐτῶν ὁ παμμίαιος, ὡς οἱ διδάσκαλοι αὐτοῦ Ἀραβες, ἐβδελύττετο. (I, 406, 22-25). Cedrenus (ed. Bonn, I, 797, 4-6), copies Theophanes word for word.

Incidentally, Islam can be accused with less plausibility to have inspired the destruction of relics than to have given the example for iconoclasm. Leaving aside the matter of the Ka'ba, the Muslims from the very beginning held in great veneration the relics of the Prophet and of their own saints. (A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam* [Heidelberg, 1922], pp. 325-27; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II [Halle, 1890], pp. 356-68). Of course this respect did not necessarily extend to the λείψανα of those Christian saints who, unlike Jesus or Moses, did not qualify as *ḥunafā*, Muslims *ante litteram*. According to the Nestorian chronicler Māri, Muslims and Christians agreed in the «relative» veneration of relics: «And the devout Christians who were in the service of al-Rašid came and informed him that the Christians do not worship [*ʿabdā*] and do not adore [*ʿajada*] the bones of the dead and only honor [*akrama*] the bodies of the martyrs and the pious ones and the apostles, as is done with the graves of the prophets and their bodies. And he [Hārūn al-Rašid] checked the accuracy of what they said to him, and commanded the reconstruction of the churches.»

واجتمع النصاري الذين في خدمة الرشيد وعرفوه ان النصاري لا يعبدون ولا يسجدون لعظام الموتى وانما يكرمون اجساد الاشهاد والصالحين والحواريين كما يفعل بقبور الانبياء واجسادهم فتحقق ما قالوه وامر باعادة بناء البيع

(*Maris Amri et Slibae De Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria*, ed. H. Gismondi, Pars Prior, p. v o l. 6-8).

ἡγοῦμαι Χριστιανούς ἡμᾶς καλουμένους εἰδώλοις προσκυνεῖν καὶ νεκροῖς ὁστέοις σέβας προσνέμειν, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ θεῷ ἔχειν τὴν ἐλπίδα»²⁶ This would be important testimony if it were independent of Theophanes; however, it seems quite certain that the statement is merely a novelistic elaboration of Theophanes' assertion that Leo «abominated» relics as well as images. The «historical» portion of this text is definitely dependent on Theophanes.²⁷ The *Vita Stephani*, which recounts the burning of the Chalce icon, has no parallel to this passage of Theophanes. Georgius Hamartolus merely reports that the images were cast down and burned;²⁸ only the preaching against images is noted in the *Vita Pauli*.²⁹ The *Vita* of Georgius Λιμναῖωτης does briefly report the burning of relics in Leo's reign, but the notices again probably depend on Theophanes.³⁰ Agapius of Manbij mentions only Leo's removing the images of martyrs;³¹ Michael the Syrian makes Leo the opponent of all portrait representations, but does not note any destruction of relics.³²

We are, thus, left with two independent accounts: one in Germanus and the other in Theophanes.³³ Theophanes' notice by itself would

²⁶ AA 88 Aug. II (1935), 437C.

²⁷ See ch. I, n. 19. The passage shows verbal coincidence with the *Vita Germani* (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνέκδοτα Ἑλληνικά* [Constantinople, 1884], p. 14 (§ 26). The direction of borrowing is, however, not clear.

²⁸ πᾶσαν δὲ εἰκονικὴν ἀνατύπωσιν τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς θεομήτορος καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων κατέστρεψε καὶ κατέκαυσε ... (ed. de Boor, II, 743, 11-744, 2).

²⁹ ὁ [δὲ] Λέων τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν σιγήτρον ἐγκρατὴς, ὡς μὴ ὅφειλε, καὶ δευρὴν κατὰ τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων πνέει τὴν αἵρεσιν, τὴν προσκύνησιν αὐτῶν ἀποκηρύττων ὁ κατάρτος — οἱμοί — καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο δόγμα κατὰ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν διασπείρων τὴν οἰκουμένην. (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνέκδοτα* IV (1897), pp. 247-48).

³⁰ ἐπὶ δὲ Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου ἀρξαμένου τὰς ἐκκλησίας καταστρέφειν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων πυρὶ καλεῖν AA 88 Aug. IV (1739), col. 843; ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου τοῦ ... τὰ τῶν ἁγίων λείψανα κατακαίοντος (PG 107, 604D); ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου, τὰς ἱερὰς εἰκόνας κατακαίοντος καὶ τὰς τῶν ἁγίων λείψανα κατακαίοντος. *Synax. CP*, col. 922.

³¹ أس لاون بقلع صور الشهداء (ed. Vasiliev, p. 506, l. 1).

³² Ed. Chabot, IV, 456-57. See Appendix 4A.

³³ Uspenskij asserts that the Theophanes passage is dependent on Germanus' account in *De De Haeresibus et Synodis* (*Očerki II*, p. 253). But why would Theophanes have toned down the explicit statement that the iconoclasts burned the relics? The leading personal role taken by Leo, his imitation of the Arabs, and his contempt for the Theotokos and the saints, are again peculiar to Theophanes. Moreover, Theophanes does not subscribe to the supposed importance of Constantine of Nacolia whose ini-

be suspect. It is coupled with the otherwise unattested claim that Leo despised the Virgin and the saints; at any rate, the scope of Leo's «contempt» for relics is not made clear. Germanus' account is less detailed than one would wish; it would be more credible if some particular instance of the burning of relics would also be provided. Though little concrete evidence about Leo's personal attitude to relics is available,³⁴ it should be noted that Constantine V — whose ideas were considerably more radical than Leo's — made the patriarch of the day take an iconoclastic pledge on the relic of the True Cross.³⁵ There is, of course, no reason why iconoclasm would necessarily involve a rejection of the cult of relics; moreover, Germanus' account does not attribute the relic-burning to direct imperial command.³⁶ It is quite likely that the more venal among the imperial agents, unlike the pious Latin clerical relic-hunters of 1204, only cared to loot the valuable reliquaries and were indifferent to the less visibly precious treasures contained therein. It is, of course, also likely that often the well-encased relics simply shared the fiery fate of their «illuminated» receptacles. However, there is really no evidence, apart from Theophanes' one sweeping statement, that Leo himself had a formulated, hostile attitude to relics, or that he approved the lamentable excesses of his underlings. One could, of course, argue that the emperor, who so consciously modelled his conduct on Old Testament paradigms (as the Ecloga preamble shows), would have had available the precedent of Hezekiah, who destroyed the brazen serpent when it became an object of idolatry to the Israelites;³⁷ but such speculation is not by itself cogent, in the absence of more concrete evidence about Leo's attitude.

tative Germanus' work emphasizes so strongly; for Theophanes, it is not Constantine of Nacolia but Leo who was *ἡγάρτος τε καὶ ἡγήτωρ* of the new movement. These considerations, coupled with the lack of striking verbal similarities, argue in favor of the independence of the two accounts.

³⁴ Theophanes I, 437, 13-15.

³⁵ According to Constantine of Tice, Leo III removed the relics of St. Euphemia from the (decorated?) reliquary, and deposited them in a royal chapel (ed. F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine, Subs. hag.* 41 [Bruxelles, 1965], p. 88). Theophanes attributes the desecration of St. Euphemia's relics to Constantine V, and makes no mention of Leo (ed. de Boor, I, 439, 26-31). I hope to discuss in detail the Euphemia dossier in a forthcoming study of «Constantinian» iconoclasm.

³⁶ This must, of course, be seen in the context of Germanus' already-noted very cautious attitude vis-à-vis the powers that be. Cf. ch. VIII, n. 29.

³⁷ Cf. ch. VI, n. 33.

Having thus sketched out some pertinent aspects of the course of iconoclasm in Leo's reign, as far as the very meager sources allow, we shall now turn to our main task of investigating early iconoclastic ideology. The only extensive iconoclastic fragments that can be dated as coming from this period — namely, the iambics quoted by Theodore of Studion — will be discussed separately in the next chapter; however, there is also other material, of unequal value to be sure, that can be utilized for this purpose.

The earliest iconoclastic statement which is preserved comes from Constantine of Nacolia, as reported by Germanus. Constantine apparently appealed, quite simply, to the second commandment in his iconological discussions with the patriarch. In the letter to John of Synada, Germanus says:

And he [Constantine] proposed to us the defense... that he heard Holy Scripture say: «You shall not make any likeness, to worship it, [a likeness of] whatever [things] there are in the heavens above, and of whatever [things] there are upon the earth.»³⁸

Germanus does not indicate that the bishop put forth any arguments more sophisticated than this; he does report that an agreement was reached that no created thing should be worshipped;³⁹ an ambiguous formula, which, as Paul Alexander observes,⁴⁰ was very differently interpreted by the two parties. Nothing explicit is known about the ideological stance taken by Thomas of Claudiopolis, who preferred not to discuss his iconoclastic views with Germanus.⁴¹ However, in his letter to Thomas, the patriarch takes pains to interpret in an iconophile sense a certain number of biblical passages: the second commandment (Ex. 20:4) again;⁴² somewhat strangely, the third

³⁸ καὶ ταύτην ἡμῖν προεβόλετο τὴν ἀπολογία· ... ὅτι ἀκούσας τῆς θείας γραφῆς λεγούσης· οὐ ποιήσεις πᾶν ὁμοίωμα, προσκυνεῖν αὐτῷ, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω, καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ... Mansi XIII, 100BC. The citation of Exodus 20:4 is quite free here; the *textus receptus* reads: οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἰδωλον οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω καὶ ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς. (ed. Rahlf, I, 119). This will be of some significance later; cf. notes 42, 59.

³⁹ Mansi XIII, 105D. ἡ μόνον τὴν γραφικὴν προτείνεν διδασκαλίαν περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν κτίσμασι τῆς θείας αἰοῦν τιμῆς.

⁴⁰ Nicephorus, p. 37.

⁴¹ πάντα τὰ περὶ τούτου ἐν τελείᾳ σιωπῇ παρ' ἡμῖν ποιησαμένη ... Mansi XIII, 108E. Cf. above, p. 86.

⁴² οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἰδωλον, οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω, καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς, οὐ ποιήσεις οὐδὲ προσκυνήσεις αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ μὴ λατρεύσεις αὐτοῖς. Mansi XIII, 117B (Ex. 20:4-5). Here Germanus

commandment; ⁴³ then a stricture from Deuteronomy against graven images. ⁴⁴ It is thus likely, though hardly surprising, that these Mosaic dicta were the first battle-cries of incipient iconoclasm. Germanus also refers to a passage from Wisdom 14: «The devising of idols is the beginning of whoredom, etc.»; ⁴⁵ he cites then the prophet Isaiah's curse on those who attempt to manufacture images of the Deity: ⁴⁶ He quotes, and expounds at length, Paul's dictum in Romans 1 about sinful mankind changing the glory of the incorruptible divinity into the likeness of corruptible man, ⁴⁷ as well as the argument from *συγγένεια* in the Areopagus speech. ⁴⁸ Again it is possible that these passages were first brought forth by the iconoclasts, and thus forced Germanus to provide the «correct» interpretation. Germanus' *apologia* reveals that, apparently, «some people» (including Thomas?) objected more to the *cult* rendered to images than to their mere presence. ⁴⁹ Germanus justifies the burning of candles and incense before icons by a rather skillful use of pseudo-Dionysiac language. ⁵⁰ His disavowal

follows the LXX accurately, whereas, before he may have cited Constantine's actual words:

⁴³ οὐ λήψῃ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου ἐπὶ ματαιῶν. (Ex. 20:7), Mansi XIII, 117B. Germanus, and perhaps the iconoclasts, interpreted the command in the wider sense of «do not call and deem divine that which is not really so.» Mansi XIII, 117D.

⁴⁴ μὴ ἀνομήσητε, καὶ ποιήσητε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς γλυπτὸν ὁμοίωμα (Deut. 4:25). Mansi XIII, 117B.

⁴⁵ ἀρχὴ πορνείας ἐπίνοια εἰδώλων etc. (Wisdom 14:12-14). Mansi XIII, 120BC.

⁴⁶ ἀσχυθήσονται οἱ πλάσσοντες Θεὸν καὶ γλύφοντες etc. (Isaiah 44:10-11 freely). Mansi XIII, 119C.

⁴⁷ οἱ φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοί, ἐμωράνθησαν, καὶ ἥλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου Θεοῦ εἰς ὁμοίωμα εἰκότος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Rom. 1:22-23), Mansi XIII, 121D.

⁴⁸ γενὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ὀφείλομεν νομίζειν, χρυσῷ ἢ ἀργύρῳ ἢ λίθῳ, χαράγματι τέχνης καὶ ἐνθυμήσεως ἀνθρώπου, τὸ θεῖον εἶναι ὁμοιον. (Acts 17:29-30). Mansi XIII, 117D.

⁴⁹ ἀλλὰ μὴδ' ἐκεῖνο σκανδαλίζετω τινὰς, τὸ ἐμπροσθεν τῶν εἰκόνων τῶν ἁγίων φωταγωγίαν γίνεσθαι καὶ εὐωδὴ θυμίασιν. Mansi XIII, 124BC.

⁵⁰ σύμβολον μὲν τὰ αἰσθητὰ φῶτα τῆς ἀβύλου καὶ θείας φωτοδοσίας, ἣ δὲ τῶν ἀρωμάτων ἀναθυμίασις τῆς ἀκραιφνούς καὶ ὁλης τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος περιπόλας τέ- καὶ πληρώσεως, Mansi XIII, 124C. This defense of the paraphernalia of the cult is very similar to the earliest extant reasoned «iconophile» apology, namely, a fragment of Hypatius (sixth century). However, there is no textual dependence on Hypatius' text, which was almost completely overlooked in the iconoclastic controversy. (See J. Gouillard, «Hypatios d'Éphèse ou du Pseudo-Denys à Théodore Studite», REB 19 [1961], pp. 63-75 for a solitary [unfavorable] reference by Theodore). The Hypatius text gives support neither to the active iconoclasts nor to the strict iconophiles. It is quite possible, I think, that the *βιβλίον* mentioned by Theodore (PG 99, 1537) contained material culled by

also implies that the reformers accused the orthodox of paying divine honors to the saints: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Θεὸν τινα τῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν καλεῖν ἀνεχόμεθα. ⁵¹ The charge that Germanus rejects was probably only an accusation that iconophiles made the saints into gods by worshipping their images, rather than a general attack on the cult of saints. However, the iconoclasts apparently did accuse the orthodox of teaching that the presence of *ex voto* images in the churches was a proxy for the worshippers'. ⁵² This charge, if true, throws a revealing light on untutored, popular piety of the time: it is unlikely that the clergy would have countenanced this particular notion, which could have had disastrous consequences for their flocks' attendance at the sacred mysteries. ⁵³ In short, as far as one can judge, the Asia Minor bishops merely appealed to some obvious anti-idolatry passages in Scripture, and were probably moved to action by the honor, in their opinion excessive, paid to icons. Not much ideological sophistication is betrayed by these admittedly scanty notices. ⁵⁴

the emissaries of Leo V in preparation for the Council of 815 (*Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armeno*, PG 108, 1028), and, subsequently, found unusable.

⁵¹ Mansi XIII, 122E; cf. 100E.

⁵² This is implied by Germanus' disclaimer: οὔτε πάλιν ὡς ἱκανὴν ἔχειν νομίζοντες θεογονίας βεβαίωσιν τὰς τοιαύτας καταφρονοῦμεν τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ συνδρομῆς ... Mansi XIII, 124A.

⁵³ But cf. one of the supposed iconophile practices listed in the letter of Michael II to Louis the Pious: «Alii autem corpus Domini in manus imaginum ponebant unde communicare volentes accipere fecerunt» (MGH *Legum*, Sect. III, Tomus, II, Pars II, p. 479). Perhaps this means that sometimes the icon acted as a substitute for a particular worshipper's presence during the liturgy and the priest put the Eucharist «in manus imaginum»; the individual would then come, and take communion at some later time, «from the hands of the icon?» Of course, this statement could also refer merely to some symbolic gesture of the priest first «giving» the sacred elements to the icon, and «receiving» them back from its hands, with presumably even more sanctity absorbed in the process. If only this latter interpretation should be given to the text, then, naturally, the icons did not act as thermos bottles, so the speak, to preserve the potency of the sacrament; rather, the practice should then perhaps be compared to the well-known «legal fiction» of more primitive sacrificial actions whereby the food was «offered» to the gods but, of course, was eaten by the officiating priests and/or the worshippers. However, a simpler explanation may be that the reference is to caskets, decorated with images, in which the consecrated species were kept, for the *Viaticum*, given to the sick, or for the pre-sanctified liturgy.

⁵⁴ There seems to be no textual evidence for labelling these Anatolian bishops «Origenist» as J. Meyendorff does (*Christ in Eastern Christian Thought*, p. 137). Surely Origenists could not be accused of halting at the literal sense of Scripture, as Constantine of Naopolis did, according to Germanus. The «Origenist» tag can be fixed on the icono-

Of much more importance, of course, is the evidence about Leo's attitude. Though the text of Leo's official enactments against images is lost,⁵⁵ we have already been able to extract some, perhaps relevant,

clasts only if one accepts without much reservation G. Florovsky's hypothesis that the entire iconoclastic movement was heir to Eusebius' «Origenistic» disapproval of religious art («Origen, Eusebius and the Iconoclastic Controversy», CH 19 [1950], pp. 77-96). However, one can be rightly accused of a *petitio principii* if he applies this epithet without further ado to the early iconoclasts, as distinguished perhaps from the fathers of 754. There appears to be no evidence, either, for Meyendorff's statement that these bishops «seem to have been the only theological counselors of the emperor» (*op. cit.*, p. 137).

⁵⁵ There is no compelling philological reason for translating Theophanes' ἡρξάτο δ... Λέων ... λόγον ποιῆσθαι (I, 404, 3-4) as «Leo promulgated an edict»; it simply seems to mean that Leo began to make speeches against image-worship. In view of this, the following sentence, that Pope Gregory warned Leo that μὴ δεῖν βασιλεῖα περὶ πίστεως λόγον, ποιῆσθαι καὶ καινοτομεῖν τὰ ἀρχαῖα δόγματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας is seen to be but a general warning against profane interference in ecclesiastical affairs. Nicephorus' declaration that Leo ἐκδιδάσκειν δὲ τὸν λαὸν τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπεχέλει δόγμα. (*Breviarium*, 57; 26-27) has the same import. At the *silence* of 730, however, according to Theophanes, Leo did try to persuade Germanus to sign a declaration against images (πέλθω αὐτὸν ὑπογράψαι κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων [I, 409, 3]); ὑπογράψαι could mean «to approve» or «to assent to», but its more natural sense is «to sign a statement» (see Lampe, *s.v.* ὑπογράφω) Nicephorus' συγκαλεῖ τὸν τότε τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα Γερμανόν, καὶ συγγράφειν κατὰ τῆς καθαιρέσεως τῶν εἰκόνων ἡνάγκαζεν. (*Breviarium*, 58, 19-20) in fact implies that Leo wanted to constrain the patriarch to compose a declaration about the destruction of images. (See Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* συγγράφω) Of course, Germanus would not consent to do this, but an imperial *firman* seems to have been issued anyway, after the *silence* of January 7, and was duly signed by Anastasius upon his enthronization. (On the number of edicts, cf. Ostrogorsky, *History*, p. 163, n. 1.)

M. Anastos' recent excellent article («Leo III's Edict Against the Images in the Year 726-27 and Italo-Byzantine Relations Between 726 and 730» *Byzantinische Forschungen* 3 (1969), pp. 5-41), though not disposing quite completely of the difficulty posed by Theophanes' λόγον ποιῆσθαι, does make a very strong case for the early Latin sources witnessing an edict in 726. Perhaps one could argue, in order to reconcile the resulting contradiction, in the following fashion. Theophanes, as we have tried to show (see ch. IV, note 21), strives to maintain a distance between Leo and Germanus from the very beginning. Theophanes may have suppressed the fact that an official edict accompanied the destruction of the Chalce image in 726, in order to avoid presenting Germanus as acquiescing in, and collaborating with, an official, albeit temporizing, iconoclastic policy between 726 and 730; this edict was then only re-affirmed, and put into full force in 730. It is quite certain, from Byzantine, Latin, and oriental sources, that iconoclasm did erupt in 726; the *Liber Pontificalis* in noting the *inusiones* of 726 may be preserving a fact lost in Theophanes' circumstantial, but definitely tendentious, account, bent on maintaining Germanus' reputation unsullied. In Georgius Hamartolus the destruction of the Chalce image is followed immediately by Germanus' resignation (ed. de Boor II, 743), probably from like apologetic motives. (The anathema of the Coun-

though admittedly indirect, indications from the Ecloga preface. But Leo is also quoted in several historical and hagiographic texts; some of these citations may embody authentic tradition.

Germanus, as was pointed out before, refrains from discussing the direct imperial involvement in the iconoclastic movement; his writings yield little information about Leo's sentiments. The Orations of John of Damascus are early and valuable sources; John may, in fact, have had access to some iconoclastic pamphlets, written perhaps under Leo's direction, but certainly with his approbation. John does not often mention the emperor directly;⁵⁶ however, the iconoclastic arguments presupposed by his refutation are most probably a reflection of the propaganda emanating from the imperial court. To be sure, though John was able to write more frankly than Germanus, in safe Muslim-ruled Palestine,⁵⁷ by the same token he was removed from the center of the storm; the information he gives is not that of a participant and an eye-witness.⁵⁸

John attests the simple iconoclastic appeal to the second commandment;⁵⁹ other anti-idolatry passages used by the iconoclastic sources of John were Psalm 96:7⁶⁰ and Jeremiah 10:11.⁶¹ The here-

cil of 754 which branded Germanus δύνωμος, «holding two opinions» (Mansi XIII, 356A) may in fact refer to the patriarch's temporary consent to the imperial policy.)

⁵⁶ One of his jibes attests that, in the Damascene's opinion, Leo was the chief ideologue of the movement: Μανιχαῖοι συνέγραψαν τὸ κατὰ Θεωμὴν Εὐαγγέλιον· γράψατε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὸ κατὰ Λέοντα Εὐαγγέλιον. (PG 94, 1301D).

⁵⁷ Οὐ δέχομαι βασιλεῖα τυραννικῶς τὴν ἱερουσὴν ἀπάξοντα. Οὐ βασιλεῖς ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν δεσμεῖν καὶ λύνειν. (PG 94, 1301D-1304D). (Cf., also, PG 94, 1299CD.) It would be interesting to know whether John is actually quoting an imperial pamphlet in which Leo claims for himself the Petrine power of binding and losing. However, it is more likely that John merely infers this from the direct intervention of the emperor in the ecclesiastical domain. We have already seen that, in the Ecloga, Leo invokes some Petrine texts, but does not claim the papal prerogatives.

⁵⁸ John himself admits that his information is incomplete: καὶ νῦν δὲ μακάριος Γερμανός, ὁ βίω καὶ λόγῳ ἐξαστρέπτων, ἐρρανίσθη, καὶ ἐξόριστος γέγονε, καὶ ἕτεροι πλείστοι ἐπίσκοποι καὶ Πατέρες, ὧν οὐκ οἶδμεν τὰ ὀνόματα. (PG 94, 1297A). Of course, in this particular case, such a pleading of ignorance is a convenient way for John to save himself the trouble of providing detailed documentation about the imperial persecution.

⁵⁹ Ἀλλὰ λέγουσιν, οἱ μὴ ἐρευνῶντες τὸν νοῦν τῆς Γραφῆς, ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Μωϋσέως τοῦ νομοθέτου· «Ὁὐ ποιήσεις πᾶν ὁμοίωμα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ γῇ» (PG 94, 1288D; cf. 1321A, 1325C). Interestingly, this citation of Exodus 20:4 is made in the same abbreviated form as that attributed by Germanus to Constantine of Nacolia. (See above, note 33.) Is John quoting then then from a pamphlet written by Constantine?

⁶⁰ PG 94, 1288D.

⁶¹ PG 94, 1324C.

tics also appealed to a well known statement in the Fourth Gospel on the spirituality of true worship.⁶² In expounding the «hylic» aspect of honoring the Deity, John argues that material images, like relics and the cross, are licit aids to worship; his reasoning implies that the iconoclasts did not raise an objection to the cult of relics.⁶³ John of Damascus, a contemporary Palestinian source, certainly knows nothing about burning of relics. John is already a witness for the iconoclastic appeal to Epiphanius⁶⁴ and Athanasius;⁶⁵ the patristic proof-texts made their appearance early. Very interestingly, the first *Oratio* shows the existence of a moderate group of iconoclasts, who were only opposed to saints' images, but not those of Christ or the Theotokos;⁶⁶ this party is not again mentioned in the sources, and it can be safely assumed that their compromise solution was rejected by all concerned. Addressing apparently the emperor Leo, John accuses him of condemning matter, «like the Manichees»,⁶⁷ but unfortunately does not quote any of Leo's dualistic blasphemies.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ PG 94, 1245BC; 1305AB. Perhaps significantly, only dominical relics, not those of saints, are enumerated. Cf. p. 100. However, this is understandable from someone writing in the Holy Land, so rich in mementoes of the gospel history.

⁶⁴ *Εἰ δὲ φῆς, τὸν θεὸν καὶ θαυμαστὸν Ἐπιφάνιον διαβήδην ταύτας ἀπαγορεύειν* (PG 94, 1257A). In a later work, I plan to take up again the vexed question of the Epiphanius texts used by the iconoclasts.

⁶⁵ *Ἰσμεν τὸν μακάριον Ἀθανάσιον, ἀπαγορευκόντα τὸ ἐν λάρνακι τιθέναι τὰ τῶν ἁγίων λείψανα* ... PG 94, 1257B. This apparent iconoclastic objection to reliquaries is perhaps to be connected with Germanus' account of the desecration and destruction of the precious remains. The iconoclasts, though not objecting to relic-worship as such, seem to have taken an exception to the receptacles decorated with images. Cf. Nicephorus, PG 100, 433.

⁶⁶ *Ἀλλὰ φησί· Ποία Χριστοῦ εἰκὼς, καὶ ἀνέσθητι, ἢ τῆς τοῦτον Μητρὸς τῆς Θεοτόκου* (PG 94, 1249B). The rather dubious argument lying behind this concession is, I think, apparent, and has a monophysite flavor: the divinity of which the Savior partakes, and, so to speak, communicates to His Mother, is not shared by the martyrs and the saints; therefore, though it is lawful to manufacture, and pay «divine» honors to, icons of Christ and the Virgin, this is not the case for images of holy men. It is well-known that the triumph of Cyrillian Christology entrained a heightened cult of the Theotokos; here we seem to have a practical conclusion drawn from the very special position assigned to the Virgin — just as she alone can be called «God-bearer», so she is the only one whose icons can share the honors paid to the «theanthropic» images of the Savior.

⁶⁷ *Κακίῳ τὴν ὕλην, καὶ ἄτιμον ἀποκαλεῖς; καὶ οἱ Μανιχαῖοι* (PG 94, 1297C). *Μὴ κακίῳ τὴν ὕλην· οὐ γὰρ ἄτιμος. ... Τῶν Μανιχαίων τοῦτο τὸ φρόνημα*. PG 94, 1245C. The *rapprochement* to the language of the Chalco inscription is striking: *Χριστὸν γράφεσθαι μὴ φέρων δὲ δειπότης ὕλην γενεῇ ταῖς γραφαῖς παυμένην* PG 99, 437C. (See below,

- *Haeresis*, 102, an early addition, as we have seen, to the *Πηγὴ Γνώσεως*,⁶⁸ gives the iconoclasts the appellation «accusers of Christians», *Χριστιανοκατήγοροι*, a name which is quite common in later iconophile polemic.⁶⁹ The heretics, according to this passage, attacked pictures of the Savior, of the Theotokos, of the saints, and of the angels, and accused the orthodox of worshipping images «as if these were gods, as the pagans do.»⁷⁰ We have already noted that Leo is the one and only heresiarch according to this text.⁷¹

The *Vita Stephani* accuses Leo of introducing again the Manichaean heresy, as well as the error of the Julianite docetists.⁷² However, the statement which the *Vita* directly attributes to Leo, «fulminating

p. 198.) In this connection, it may be of some interest to compare this language with that of Canon 101 of the Quinisext Council (691-92). The canon forbids the use of vessels (*δοχεῖα*) in the reception of the eucharist, ordaining that rather the communicant should receive the bread in his crossed hands; the theological reason given is that it is not fit to prefer «inanimate and subjected matter» to (man), the true image of God: *οὐδαμῶς προσέμεθα ὡς προτιμῶντας τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνος τὴν ἄψυχον ὕλην καὶ ὑπόχειρον*. (ed. P.-P. Joannou, *Discipline générale antique* (II^e-IX^e s.), I, 1 (Rome, 1962) p. 238, 15-17.)

⁶⁸ See p. 99.

⁶⁹ PG 94, 773A; cf. the pseudo-*ad Theophilum* (PG 95, 373C); Nicaea II, Canon 9, *περὶ τοῦ μὴ κρυπτεῖν τὴν Χριστιανοκατηγορικὴν αἰρέσεως βιβλίον* (Mansi XIII, 430A), etc. The one mention, to my knowledge, of the word prior to the iconoclastic controversy is in the *Chronicon Paschale* (PG 92, 856C). *Τιβέριος θάνατον ἠπειλήσεν τοῖς Χριστιανοκατηγοροῖς*. The use of this appellation in the image controversy was apparently aimed at assimilating the iconoclasts to the Jews, «the accusers of Christians.»

⁷⁰ *ὡς θεοῖς, καθάπερ Ἕλληνες* (PG 94, 773A).

⁷¹ See note 22.

⁷² *ὁ νέος οὗτος Βαλδάζαρ* [the name used in the Septuagint for the Belshazzar of Daniel 5:1 — not to be confused with Balthazar, one of the Magi of the Nativity!] *αἰρεσὶν ἐμπνέει τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Μανιχαϊκῇ, τάχα, ὡς εἶπες τι, καὶ τῶν Ἀφθαροδοκητῶν ἐφάμλλον* (PG 100, 1084B). The author of the *Vita Stephani* should have chosen his biblical examples more carefully; by no stretch of imagination was Belshazzar a proto-Manichee, and the biblical narrative claims that the king and the court *praised* the graven images (Daniel 5:4). The only reason why the name of Belshazzar would be even remotely applicable is that he did appropriate for secular use the sacred vessels of the Jerusalem temple (Daniel 5:2-3). But it should be noted that the genuine *ad Theophilum* also applies the Belshazzar simile to the iconoclastic patriarch Anthony Cassimatus (ed. Duchesne, *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 [1913], p. 359). This same work earlier registers the refusal of the three Hebrew pages to worship the image of Nebuchadnezzar (p. 355); thus, the employment of the «Belshazzar» epithet in iconophile apologetic may in fact have served the purpose of neutralizing the claim that Daniel and his companions were iconoclasts *ante litteram*. On Nebuchadnezzar as a prototype of the iconoclasts, see Mansi XIII, 160BC.

like Aetna.⁷³ is a simple *non licet* against idolatrous image worship.⁷⁴ The pseudo-*ad Theophilum* copies from the *Vita Stephani* Leo's supposed declaration.⁷⁵ The *Vita* of Nicetas significantly describes Leo as explicitly opposing the pictorial depiction of the Savior;⁷⁶ however, this passage may merely be the retrojection into the earlier period of Constantine V's christological dialectic. This holds, perhaps, also for the statement in the *Σύνοψις Χρονική* that Leo could not bear the sight of icons of Christ.⁷⁷

The apocryphal letters of Pope Gregory II, late Byzantine productions and of no value for reconstructing the events in Italy,⁷⁸ may, however, have preserved some authentic echoes of Leo's preaching. Leo appeals, predictably, to the second commandment;⁷⁹ accuses the orthodox of worshipping stones, walls and planks of wood;⁸⁰ claims, in a manner quite consonant with the spirit of the *Ecloga* prologue, to be both priest and king.⁸¹ Other information that the correspondence yields has already been noted.⁸²

⁷³ ... ὁ ἀνήμερος θῆρ καὶ λεοντάνυμος ἐκ τῆς ὀργίλου αὐτοῦ καρδίας ὡς ἐξ ὄρους Ἀετναίου πύρ καὶ τέφραν ἠρεῖετο (PG 100, 1084C). Does the simile perhaps indicate a Sicilian origin for this section at least of the *Vita Stephani*? (However, of course, Mount Aetna was well-known from the classical literature.) The comparison may also be intended as a comment, *in malam partem*, on an iconoclastic claim that the emperor rightly regarded the volcanic eruption of 726 as a sign of divine anger.

⁷⁴ Εἰδωλικῆς τεχνουργίας ὑπαρχούσης τῆς τῶν εἰκόνων ἀνατυπώσεως οὐ δεῖ ταύτας προσκυνεῖν (PG 100, 1084C).

⁷⁵ PG 95, 360B.

⁷⁶ ... καὶ ἤρξατο τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων παραδοθεῖσαν ἱστορίαν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐξαφανίζειν λέγων· μὴ δεῖν εἰκονίζεσθαι τὸν Χριστόν, μηδὲ ἐν εἰκόνι προσκυνεῖσθαι, AA SS Apr. I, Appendix, p. XXIII.

⁷⁷ Οὗτος ὁ βδελυρὸς βασιλεὺς μὴ φέρων ὄραν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ἐν εἰκόνι, τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ τυραννίδος πάσας καθαιρεῖ τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας τοῦ τε σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς καὶ Θεοτόκου, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων, εἰδώλων τύπους τολμήσας ἀποφθέγξασθαι αὐτὰς ἀποσώζειν. (ed. Sathas, p. 121, 13-18). Though the Christ image of the Chalce is not mentioned, in the statement μὴ φέρων ὄραν τὸν Κύριον ... ἐν εἰκόνι there may be an allusion to the fact that the destruction of an icon of the Savior was the opening shot in the iconoclastic campaign.

⁷⁸ Cf. ch. VI, n. 33.

⁷⁹ Καὶ ἔγραψας ὅτι οὐ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν χειροποίητα καὶ πᾶν εἶδος καθ' ὁμοίωμα, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, μήτε ἐν οὐρανῷ μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὅτι πληροφόρησόν με τίς ἡμῖν παρέδωκε σέβασθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν, τοῦ Θεοῦ νομοθετοῦντος μὴ προσκυνεῖν, χειροποίητα; (ed. Gouillard, p. 279, l. 30-33).

⁸⁰ Καὶ λέγεις ὅτι πέτρας καὶ τοίχους, καὶ σανίδια προσκυνοῦμεν. (ed. Gouillard, p. 287, l. 121).

⁸¹ Ἐγραψας ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς εἰμι (ed. Gouillard, p. 299, l. 293).

⁸² See ch. VI, n. 33.

Nicephorus' *Breviarium* gives some fragmentary indications of Leo's sentiments. According to this chronicle, the emperor was moved to action by the palpable, volcanic manifestations of divine anger at idol-worship;⁸³ there is no reason to doubt either the «iconoclastic» provenance of this passage or its psychological plausibility.⁸⁴ The emperor advocated the destruction of the sacred images only;⁸⁵ neither an incipient «christological» emphasis, nor an attack on other aspects of the cult of saints is, however, indicated.

The records of the Council of 787, which deliberately de-emphasized the imperial participation in the heresy, do not yield any new information. Theophanes notes Leo's reaction to the volcanic eruption of 726, but does not indicate it as the very beginning of Leo's propaganda campaign.⁸⁶ As we have already noted, Theophanes explicitly imputes to Leo a broad attack against the cult of the Theotokos and the saints, under Muslim influence.⁸⁷ This is an otherwise unattested assertion; its source, if any, is not indicated, and the most natural explanation would seem to be that Theophanes himself attributed, proleptically, to Leo some of Constantine V's radical ideas. Theophanes also reports that the emperor called his imperial predecessors and the patriarchs of the past idol-worshippers.⁸⁸ Georgius copies Theophanes,⁸⁹ and attributes no other noteworthy direct statements to Leo.

The foregoing notices provide some indications of how the early ideology of the movement was understood by its opponents; in particular, the texts show an almost exclusive reliance on the biblical strictures against idolatry, and emphasize the active and dominant leadership of the emperor Leo. However, only little light has thus far been thrown on the personal motivations and piety of the adherents

⁸³ Ταῦτά φασιν ἀκούσαντα τὸν βασιλέα ὑπολαμβάνειν θεοὺς ὀργῆς εἶναι μνημόματα (p. 57, 21-22).

⁸⁴ The emperor Andronicus II was reportedly moved to undertake some long overdue legal reforms by the providential warning of an earthquake. (See Bréhier, *Les institutions*, p. 237).

⁸⁵ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκονισμάτων μελετᾷ τὴν καθάρσειν (p. 57, 24).

⁸⁶ I, 404, 18 ff. According to Theophanes, the disaster only spurred Leo to even more zealous propaganda: ὅς τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ θείαν ὀργὴν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λογισάμενος ἀναδέετο κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ἡγχεῖ πόλεμον. (I, 405, 1-2).

⁸⁷ See note 26 for the text.

⁸⁸ I, 406, 26-29.

⁸⁹ II, 738, 12-14.

of the movement; ⁹⁰ this important aspect of early iconoclasm can be better understood through a study of the extant fragments from the iconoclastic writings of the period. To the analysis and evaluation of these texts, accordingly, we shall now turn.

⁹⁰ Moreover, no indication has yet been given of the iconoclastic cult of the cross, so clearly attested by the iambs in Theodore and the archeological evidence.

CHAPTER X

THE ICONOCLASTIC IAMBIC POEMS

Theodore of Studios quotes, in their entirety, several dodecasyllabic iambic poems written by iconoclasts, including a poem which purports to be an inscription for the Chalce gate. ¹ These verses are important fragments of the mostly lost iconoclastic literature, and deserve closer scrutiny. Some of the poems, especially the Chalce inscription which is, naturally, of most interest to art historians, have been the object of discussion in modern scholarship; but it seems that the ensemble of the poems has not yet been given the necessary attention in attempts made to understand the motivations of the iconoclastic movement.

Theodore's refutation of five of the poems is followed by an apparent quotation from the Council of 815, also refuted at length. ² Four additional iconoclastic iambs ³ are not accompanied by a refutation and were apparently added by a later redactor of Theodore's work. ⁴ Six of the poems, «signed» in the acrostics, were written by — or at least were commissioned by — otherwise unidentified iconoclasts John, Ignatius, Sergius and Stephen. No such «signature» is, however, provided for the Chalce inscription, and two other poems, one of which is a monostich.

The Chalce inscription, which may have a connection to Leo's measures of 726, will be treated first. Unlike the other poems, it is not an acrostic. The title is: «At the Chalce gate underneath the cross.» ⁵ The poem itself only mentions, more vaguely, «the gates

¹ PG 99, 435-477A. The Migne edition reproduces the text of the *editio princeps*, in J. Sirmondus' *Sancti Theodori Studitae epistolae aliaque scripta dogmatica* (Venice, 1728), pp. 135-59, which is based on two MSS.

² Paul Alexander doubts, in my view needlessly, the authenticity of this last fragment («The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia and Its Definition (Horse),» DOP 7 [1954], p. 66). See further note 57.

³ PG 99, 476B-477A.

⁴ Cf. note 57.

⁵ *Εἰς τὴν πύλην τῆς χαλκῆς ὑποκάτω τοῦ σταυροῦ* PG 99, 437C. Though Mango prints this title together with the poem (*Brazen House*, p. 122), it is, of course, not a 12-syllable iambic line.

of the royal palaces* (*ἐν πύλαις ἀνακτόρων*)⁶ In my opinion, it is not immediately obvious that the poem is connected with the destruction of the Chalce Christ image in particular, and the depiction of a cross in the same place.⁷ However, this art-historical problem does not vitally concern us now; the poem does definitely celebrate the replacement of an anthropomorphic depiction of the Savior by the symbol of the plain cross. It says:

The ruler⁸ does not tolerate that Christ be depicted [as] a voiceless shape [*εἶδος*] and bereft of breath, with earthly matter, [which is] condemned by the

⁶ The plural 'gates' indicates that the cross decoration was exhibited in more than one location; the plural form *ἀνακτορα* can refer to a single building.

⁷ There is plenty of archaeological and numismatic evidence, in addition to literary testimony, for the iconoclastic cult of the cross. (See Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 153-55). As far as the Chalce gate is concerned, however, the inscription of Irene does not mention a cross (*Scriptor Incertus de Leone Bardae Filio*, *apud* Leo Grammaticus, ed. Bonn, p. 355; reproduced in Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, p. 130), nor do the various accounts of the destruction of the image. The Methodius epigram (text in Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 131) at most implies that there was a cross over the gate in the second iconoclastic period. (The wording can, however, be interpreted as merely referring to a cruciform halo (A. Frolov, 'Le Christ de la Chalce', *Byz 33* [1963], p. 113 ff.) The iconoclastic cult of the cross is a historical fact, but the sum total of the evidence for a cross over the Chalce gate in the eighth century is only the title of the anonymous poem preserved by Theodore. Perhaps this title is only an *ex eventu* inference (not even by Theodore, but by a later editor), from the Chalce cross of 815-843. Rather than arguing, as Mango does (*op. cit.*, p. 126), that the poem was written at the command of Leo V and his son Constantine né Smbat, it is possible that this 'archaic' poem, known only from a codex, was mistakenly associated with the hypothetical Chalce cross of the first iconoclastic period. The refutation of Theodore, significantly, does not quote the title nor does it give any indication that it is concerned with a cross at the Chalce gate (461B-465A). Leo V may have commissioned an appropriate inscription for his Chalce cross, but there is no proof that this epigram had any connection with the poem under discussion.

⁸ *ὁ δεσπότης*. Theodore takes the reference to be to the Deity, and rhetorically asks *πῶς οὖν φέρεται ἐν τούτῳ ὁ δεσπότης τὴν ἀτιμίαν*; (464A). But Theodore's exegesis of the ambiguous phrase is not necessarily the correct one, though *δεσπότης* = *κύριος* makes good sense in the context. In Ignatius' first poem, it is the emperors who are called *οἱ μέγιστοι δεσπότες* (437A), and likewise in his second poem ('*Ὁν προσκυνοῦντες ἀξίως οἱ δεσπότες*' [475C]). However, in the last poem of the collection, anonymous, and, like the 'Chalce' poem, not an acrostic mentions *τὸν τύπον τοῦ δεσπότητος* (477A). On the whole, it seems that the use of the word *δεσπότης* for the Deity, rather than the emperor, in fact distinguishes the two anonymous poems (very similar to each other in style and content) from the poems of Ignatius. The second poem of John also says that it is not lawful to depict the Lord, *τοιχογραφεῖν ... τὸν δεσπότην* (475B).

Scriptures; Leo, with his son Constantine,⁹ marks¹⁰ the thrice-blessed image of the cross,¹¹ the glory of believers,¹² upon the gates of the royal palaces.

This poem, whether or not it accompanied a cross which replaced the Chalce image, does well accord with what is otherwise known about iconoclasm in Leo's reign. The emphasis on the 'dead' idols, on the scriptural prohibition, the all-important royal initiative, all these concur with the previously adduced evidence.

⁹ *Ἄδων οὖν υἱὸς τῷ νέῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ*. The epithet *ὁ νέος* often has the implication of 'second' or 'junior', but is, of course, also used in the sense of 'young', and is frequently applied to the heir apparent. (See Lampe, *s.v. νέος*). Grabar gives a perhaps incorrect emphasis to *νέος* by making it imply that the young prince is thereby designated as the great emperor Constantine *redivivus* ('un nouveau Constantin, c'est-à-dire un prince chrétien qui renouvelle cet appel à la croix et à sa gloire, que Constantine l'ancien avait déjà mises au service de l'Empire des fidèles', *op. cit.*, p. 135). It should be noted that the provision of the cross is attributed to Leo only: (*Ἄδων ... σταυροῦ χαράττει τὸν τρισάβιον τύπον*).

The reference is, of course, not necessarily to Leo III and Constantine V; it is well known that Leo V, upon his accession to the throne, changed the name of his son Symbarios to Constantine (*Συμβαρῖος τῷ καὶ μετονομασθέντι Κωνσταντίνῳ κατὰ τὸ στέφανον*, Genesius, ed. Bonn, 26, 15-16). One would have expected at least a veiled reference to the *metonomasia* on the part of Theodore; however, in the refutation, the mention of the imperial rulers is passed over in silence. According to the *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Bardae Filio* (*apud* Leo Grammaticus, ed. Bonn, p. 346), the new rulers consciously imitated their 'Isaurian' predecessors.

¹⁰ *χαράττει*, used as a synonym for *γράφει*. I don't think the word has the more specialized implication of 'engraving' or 'sculpting' here.

¹¹ The expression *τύπος τοῦ σταυροῦ*, though literally meaning 'image (or 'type') of the cross', has become a set phrase; one should not make too much of the distinction between *εἶδος* and *τύπος* (cf. Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 135). When Theodore objects that *σημαίνει τὸν Χριστὸν ὁ σταυρός, οὗ τυποῖ* (457B) he merely wants to score a polemical point. (*Τύπος* can simply mean 'cross' with no philosophical implications. For instance, in pseudo-Symeon Magister's account of Photius' encounter with a Jewish magician, the latter says to the young Photius: *ἐρησάει τὸν τύπον ἐν ᾧ Ἰησοῦν προσηλώσαμεν* (ed. Bonn, Bonn, p. 670, 14-15). (Cf. Appendix 3C, note 15.)

¹² *Καὶ ψάγμα πιστῶν*, Grabar insists that the plural *πιστῶν* indicates that the cross is not a sign of personal devotion for the emperor, but is meant 'de tous les fidèles' (*op. cit.*, p. 135). Such distinctions lose their force when one remembers the scriptural origin of the phrase (Galatians 6:14), and its 'cosmic' implications. Cf. in Sergius' poem the statement *νῦν δὲ πιστῶν τὸ κλέος / Πεῦμα κραταῖον σταυρὸς ἔστησε πλάης*. The acrostic reads: 'The saving cross exalted Sergius'; the text does not mention the emperor, and is very much a monument of personal devotion, although exhibited in a public form. The likewise 'devotional' verses of Stephen start with *στήριγμα πιστῶν*, 'O support of believers'. Obviously, *πιστῶν* in such phrases denotes any or all the faithful, and is an echo of scriptural and liturgical language.

Very similar in tone and style is the last, anonymous, poem of the collection, perhaps by the same person who wrote, at imperial command,¹³ the « Chalce » inscription. It runs thus :

They who have received power from the one God, Leo and Constantine who wear the diadem, depict the *typos* of the Lord,¹⁴ bearing in their heart the desire for Him; they took away from that place the spectacle of the imagery,¹⁵ which was heedlessly devised in vain in the past.¹⁶

The one other anonymous poem consists of one line only, set out in the shape of a cross. It simply declares : 'Εχθροὺς τροποῦμαι καὶ φοβεύω βαρβάρους — « I triumph over enemies and slay barbarians. »¹⁷ This cruciform monostich could well have been originally taken from an inscription on the four arms of a cross; in view of the rather martial tone, not very suited for the pectoral cross of a bishop, one could even suppose that it adorned a battle standard of the imperial army.

The foregoing poems, all anonymous, represent the piety of the

¹³ It is tempting to speculate that Leo himself, or at least the final redactor of the *Ecloga* preface, composed both poems. The same tone of absolute assurance, of being in direct contact with the Deity, that we found in the *Ecloga* preface, characterizes these verses. The phrase *οἱ τὸ κράτος λαβόντες ἐκ Θεοῦ μόνου* (477A), in particular, is very similar to expressions like *οὗ τὸ κράτος τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῖν ἐγχαρίσαντα* ... (*Ecloga*, ed. Zachariä, p. 10) or *τὸν τὸ σκήπτρον τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῖν ἐγχαρίσαντα* (p. 13). Neither of the poems attributes great personal virtues to the emperors. (Cf. the *οἱ μέγιστοι δεσπόται* of Ignatius, 437A or John's 'Υψοὶ φαίδρων σταυρὸν εὐσεβεῖ κρίσει, 436B). The « Chalce » inscription merely states that Leo and his son Constantine delineated the thrice-blessed cross on the palace gates; this poem also says that they depicted the *typos* of the Lord. These expressions, as well as *ἐγκάρδιον φέροντες αὐτοῦ τὸν πόθον* (477A) could well come from Leo, writing, like Julius Caesar, in the third person.

¹⁴ τὸν τύπον τοῦ Δεσπότου. *Δεσπότης* here clearly refers to the incarnate Christ, and the phrase is equivalent to *τύπος τοῦ σταυροῦ*. Here perhaps a contrast between true *τύπος* and vain *θέα* is intended.

¹⁵ ἐξήραν ἔνθεν εἰκονοφυλάς θέαν.

¹⁶ PG 99, 476D. Little importance should be attached to the personification introduced by a « speaking cross ». It is not peculiarly « iconoclastic »; Theodore of Studios himself wrote several epigrams where the cross speaks in the first person (Nos. XLVII, XLVIII, LVII, ed., P. Speck, *Theodore Studites, Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände* Berlin, 1968), pp. 199-200, 207 [= PG 99, 1796B, D]. Theodore also wrote poems where the Christ image itself speaks, but, though he recommended icons as godfathers (PG 99, 961B), the gross animism implied by a « live », talking image (except as a miracle, of course) probably should not be imputed to him. Theodore willingly admits that images are made of dead matter (461D). See Theodore's own monostich, apparently also destined for a cross : *Εροῦς δαδουχῶ καὶ σκοταρχοῦντας φλέγω* (Epigram No. LX, ed. Speck, p. 210 [PG 99, 1797A]). Cf. Frolow, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1965), p. 244.

emperor — as he wished to show it to the world, at any rate; — the remaining poems, all conspicuously « signed » in the acrostics, attest the ideological commitment of lesser members of the iconoclastic party. There is no proof that their authors were necessarily ecclesiastics; the verses could well have been written by lay supporters of the movement. However, it is quite possible that the poems came from iconoclastic clerics; one can speculate further, and suppose that perhaps the poems even served to adorn the crosses that they commissioned to replace the anthropomorphic images in their home churches. But this is, of course, very hypothetical; in particular, there is no reason to assume that any of these poets came necessarily from the ranks of the Anatolian clergy of Germanus' letters.

Two of these poems are from the pen of an iconoclast John, who has been identified by some scholars as the ninth-century patriarch John the Grammarian.¹⁷ In this refutation, Theodore, to whom John the Grammarian was known personally, gives no indication that his

¹⁷ Э. Е. Липшиц (E. E. Lipšic), « О походе Руси на Византию ранее 842 года » *Исторические Записки* 26 (1948), pp. 321-22, proposed 'this identification first. She puts forth the rather dubious argument that, since Theodore's 'Ελεγχοὶ καὶ 'Ανατροπὴ includes a discussion of the *ὑπογραφή* of the Council of 815, in which John the Grammarian took a major part, therefore he must be the author of the iconoclastic iambs in question (*art. cit.*, p. 321). Mango adheres to this identification, saying, « It seems very likely that the poet John whom St. Theodore describes as the precursor of the Antichrist and accuses of leading the people into error (444C) is indeed the future patriarch » (*op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 67). This interpretation attributes too much importance to set expressions of the *odium theologicum*; Theodore apostrophizes, in very similar terms, not only John and Ignatius, both of whom some scholars have identified with the abbot's contemporaries, but also Sergius and Stephen, otherwise quite unknown. Theodore even addresses directly the anonymous author of the Chalce inscription *Καὶ σὺ γὰρ ἡσχημένους κενολογῶν* ... 461D). Ihor Ševčenko is inclined to accept the identification of our poet John with the Grammarian, but quite rightly points out that « it was current practice to call the adversary Antichrist or Antichrist's precursor ». (See Ševčenko, « The Anti-Iconoclastic Poem in the *Pantocrator Psalter* », CA 15 [1965], p. 47). J. Gouillard peremptorily asserts, in an unusual departure from his customary careful scholarship, that the first poem forms part of the Grammarian's *corpus*. (« Fragments inédits d'un antirrhétique de Jean le Grammairien » REB 24 [1966], p. 172). Gouillard does note the second poem of John. The application of the phrase *πρόδρομος τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου* to heretics can in fact be traced further back than the Arian controversy (*ibid.*), to Irenaeus' invectives against the Gnostics (ed. W. Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei ... adversus Haereses* [Cambridge, 1857], vol. I, p. 115, l. 1 : ([Μαρκός] ὡς πρόδρομος ὡν ἀληθῶς τοῦ 'Αντιχρίστου ἀποδέδεκται). Theodore himself used the expression quite readily : he refers to the supporters of the « Moechian » position as *ἄλλη ἀντιχριστική προδρομία* (PG 99, 1032C).

odium theologicum is motivated by reasons other than the errors advocated by the poems. Moreover, these verses give no sign of that skill in dialectical argumentation for which John the Grammarian was famous. They manifest the same «archaizing» attitude to the image question as the other poems; there is no reason to detach them from the collection, and to assign to them a ninth-century provenance. Like the other acrostics, the poems of this poet, John,¹⁸ are, in my opinion, products of early iconoclasm.

John's first poem¹⁹ reads:

They who speak about God,²⁰ depict Christ in gold²¹ by the voice of the prophets, not paying any attention to the things below; for confidence in God is the hope of those who can speak freely.²² They trample openly upon the resurgent error of those who make images, as something hated by God.²³ They who wear the diadem, agreeing with them, gloriously raise high the Cross, [inspired] by a pious resolution.

The acrostic says: «The Passion of Christ is the hope of John.»²⁴

¹⁸ In fact, it is at least as likely — or unlikely — that John of Synada, Germanus' correspondent, is the Ἰωάννης in question, as is the often-repeated suggestion that the poet should be identified with John the Grammarian. John of Synada, though not mentioned anywhere but in Germanus' letters, was subject to iconoclastic influences, and it is quite legitimate to speculate that it was he who wrote these two poems after his eventual adherence to the party of the innovators. That Ἰωάννης is the iconoclast John of Nicomedia, anathematized, together with Constantine of Nacolia, by the council of 787 (Mansi XIII, 400B) is also a possibility.

¹⁹ PG 99, 436B.

²⁰ οἱ θεηγόροι. No restriction to theologians of the past seems to be intended; in view of what follows, the word apparently refers to the iconoclastic fellow-reformers of the poet.

²¹ Χρυσογράφουσι Χριστόν; the expression seems to be equivalent to Chrysostom's χρυσογράματος (Lampe, s.v.).

²² A rather obscure line: Ἰσηγέρων γὰρ ἐλπίς ἡ θεομορία. Does this refer to the free rein given to iconoclastic propaganda and «theological» vandalism by the imperial adherence to the movement? The poet does exult in the open trampling on the error of image-makers (τρανώς πατοῦσιν); (see next note.)

²³ Σκιογράφων δὲ τὴν παλινδρομὸν πλάνην / Τρανῶς πατοῦσιν ὡς Θεῷ μισουμένην. Of course, it was quite essential, if such open trampling was to be made possible, that not only the Divinity but the secular authorities should come to hate the error of σκιογραφία. The next line shows that this condition was indeed fulfilled (Οἱ συμπετόντες οἱ φοροῦντες τὰ στέφη). Though σκιογραφία (var. σκιογραφία) means any kind of sceno-painting, the overtone of illusoriness implied by σκία is, I think, still present.

²⁴ Χριστοῦ τὸ πάθος ἐλπίς Ἰωάννη. This is a rather clever literary device; the somewhat detached statements of the poem, couched in narrative terms, thus culminate in a very personal confession of faith.

This poem is significant, since it gives evidence, I think, for an iconoclastic movement already in existence before the imperial authority joined, and of course greatly strengthened, it. Compared with the previously cited poems, there are some notable differences in emphasis. The movement was at first restricted to rather negative acts of destruction («trampling on error»); the positive slogan of «Cross st, images no» is, in my view, a Leonine contribution.²⁵ If the writer of the poem could indeed be identified with John of Synada,²⁶ this text would provide the missing link between the Asia Minor movement and Byzantine iconoclasm proper.

The second poem²⁷ is undoubtedly by the same John. The acrostic is identical: Χριστοῦ τὸ πάθος ἐλπίς Ἰωάννη; the style and content of the two poems are also extremely similar. The poem says:

Christ brought to naught, with divine «cruciferous» power²⁸ the press²⁹ of the phalanx of demons, bestowing strength and the great power of hope on men, teaching that only He should be heeded; therefore, to depict the Lord on walls is not allowed.³⁰ For He is wholly divine,³¹ not subject to deception,³² and exalts the pious rulers who are crowned.

The triumph of the mighty Cross, coupled with the strict prohibition to make images of the Savior, are themes common to all these poems. The concluding line, concerning the divine favor shown to the pious rulers, is somewhat abrupt, and not really connected to the

²⁵ The θεηγόροι trample on images; it is the crowned *emperors* who raise high the cross. However, Sergius' and Stephen's poems, possibly of pre-726 provenance, do emphasize the cult of the cross. The paucity of the evidence does mask, I think, very real ideological differences among the early iconoclasts. It is quite possible that there was a faction which merely based its opposition to images on the Mosaic prohibitions, and did not formulate a *theologia crucis*, so to speak; this group can perhaps be identified with the Anatolian iconoclasts of Germanus' letters.

²⁶ See note 18.

²⁷ PG 99, 476B.

²⁸ σταυρικῶ θείῳ σθένει.

²⁹ ῥοπή.

³⁰ Τοιχογραφεῖν οὐδὲν οὐ θέμις τὸν δεσπότην. (Cf. note 367 for the use of δεσπότης). The expression τοιχογραφεῖσθαι is also used in Ignatius' first poem (437A). Perhaps the use of the word implies a more advanced stage of the iconoclastic campaign; it should be recalled that, apparently, according to Germanus, the portable images were attacked first, and only then wall paintings. (See above, p. 155.)

³¹ Ὅλος Θεὸς γὰρ ἐστίν.

³² οὐ τραπεῖς πλάνη, literally «not turned by error». The language is reminiscent James 1:17: παρ' ᾧ οὐκ ἐν παραλλαγῇ ἡ τροπὴ ἀποσκίασμα.

foregoing argument which does not note any of the pious deeds of the emperors. The reference to «*ἀνακτες εὐσεβείς*» seems to be almost an afterthought; perhaps this text represents a revision of an earlier version which, like Sergius' and Stephen's poems, did not mention the emperors. However, more significantly, the reason alleged for the image prohibition is that the Lord is «*all God*», *ὅλος θεός*. This statement, if applied to the Trinity, would be tautological; but *δεσπότης* here, in fact, refers to Christ, the victor over demonic powers, the *rex regnantium*. As it stands, unqualified by any allusion to the humanity of the incarnate Savior, the assertion can be taken in an extreme monophysite or docetistic sense; Chalcedonian dialectics would definitely demand the rider *ὅλος ἄνθρωπος*.³³ If we had Theodore's commentary on the poem, without doubt this point would be brought out very strongly. Though the available evidence points to Leo himself being a strict Chalcedonian in his Byzantine period, this poem indicates the existence of at least an incipient monophysite tendency within the iconoclastic party. We shall attempt to show in a later work that this tendency was much strengthened during Constantine V's reign, both for political reasons and because of the emperor's own theological predilections.

Neither of the two poems of Ignatius can be with any certainty attributed to Theodore's contemporary Ignatius, the weathervane poet and biographer,³⁴ for reasons much like the ones which militate against identifying the *Ἰωάννης* of the poems with John the Grammarian: Theodore shows no personal acquaintance with the iconoclastic poet Ignatius; the ideology is «*archaic*» and agrees with that of the other iambics; the name *Ἰγνάτιος* is extremely common, and was doubtless borne by many iconoclasts.

The first poem of Ignatius runs thus :³⁵

³³ Compare John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa* : ... *κηρύττοντες ... ὅλον Θεόν καὶ ὅλον ἄνθρωπον · τὸν αὐτὸν ὅλον Θεόν, καὶ μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅλον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ὑπερθέου αὐτοῦ θεότητος*. (PG 94, 1012A.)

³⁴ The identification was first proposed by V. Vasilievskij. The problem of authorship is discussed in detail in W. Wolska-Conus' recent article, «*De quibusdam Ignatiis*», TM 4 (1970), pp. 351-57, a work to which we already have had occasion to refer. Wolska-Conus concludes, rightly, that the Ignatius of the epigrams was indeed a figure of the first iconoclastic period (p. 359).

³⁵

O Logos, in order to strengthen the piety of mortals, and to show a clear and complete knowledge of yourself, you gave a law that only the cross be depicted;³⁶ you disown being pictured on walls³⁷ by means of materials of artifice here, as clearly [now] as before.³⁸ Behold, the great rulers³⁹ engrave it as a victory-bringing sign.⁴⁰

The acrostic spells : *Ἰγνατίω καύχημα ἐννοεῖν σταυρόν*, Ignatius' glory is to know the cross.

The second Ignatius poem⁴¹ has a very similar acrostic : *Σταυρὸς Ἰγνατίω αἰνεῖται* — «*The cross is Ignatius' praise*.» The poem itself says :

The Cross, which did join those things beforehand dispersed⁴² truly does confirm piety. O Logos, by overturning every spectacle of images,⁴³ it [i.e. the Cross] exalted your own glory, showing the potent force of faith. The rulers venerate it in a worthy manner;⁴⁴ they make the subjected enemies fear by means of [its] power.

The emphasis on the cross as the standard of victory is very pronounced in these two poems. The speculative bent of the author is

³⁶ *Νόμον δέδωκας σταυρὸν ἐγγράφειν μόνον*. Theodore rightly objects that there is no Scriptural basis for this statement (448D ff).

³⁷ *τοιχογραφείσθαι*. Cf. note 30.

³⁸ *ἄλλοι ὡς πρὶν ἐπλάσθη*. The meaning, I suppose, is that the Old Testament prohibitions of idolatry are still valid; it should be recalled that iconophile controversialists claimed an at least partial abrogation of the strictures against images, supposedly promulgated on account of the Jews' propensity to idol-worship (e.g. John of Damascus, PG 94, 1237CD).

³⁹ *οἱ μέγιστοι δεσπότες*. Cf. note 8.

⁴⁰ *ὡς νικητικὸν ἐγκατέστησαν τύπον*. For the implications of *ἐγκατέστησαν* see note 370. The word *ἐγκατέστησαν* seems to have the more general sense of «*depicting*» here, rather than «*incision*» or «*engraving*». There is no necessary allusion to a Chalced cross; the language is similar to that of earlier literary references to the Constantinian *labarum*.

⁴¹ PG 99, 476BC.

⁴² *Σταυρὸς συνάψας τὰ πρὶν ἐκελευσμένα*. This is a common theme in patristic literature, ultimately inspired by the «*cross mysticism*» of Paul and the pseudo-Pauline Epistle to the Ephesians: Cf. G. Ladner, «*St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Augustine on the Symbolism of the Cross*», *Friend Festchrift*, pp. 88-95.

⁴³ *ἀνατρέπων ... εἰκότων πᾶσαν θέαν*.

⁴⁴ *Ὁν προσκυνοῦντες δέξιος οἱ δεσπότες*. The pronoun quite definitely refers to the Cross rather than to the Logos; since the poet has just addressed the divine Word (*Λόγε*), His adoration would be referred to as *οἱ προσκυνοῦντες*. This line is then proof that the early iconoclasts accorded to the Cross the honor of *proskynesis*. The qualifier *δέξιος*, of course, is meant to distinguish this adoration from the illicit *proskynesis* of images.

perhaps more apparent than John's: witness the allusion to the cross as the cosmic bond of union, and the apostrophizing, in both poems, of the divine Logos.⁴⁵ However, no such telltale sign of «monophysitism» as the *ὁλος θεός* in the second poem of John is discernible in Ignatius' work.

The poems of Sergius and Stephen do not mention the emperors, and have a somewhat more personal tone than the foregoing. Sergius says: ⁴⁶

Moses destroyed the principalities manifestly by this sign,⁴⁷ and prevailed over the enemy. Now the cross, the glory of the faithful,⁴⁸ stemmed the mighty current of deceit. The image of artifice, devoid of life,⁴⁹ which was pictured here, devised as a hidden weapon by an illicit impulse,⁵⁰ was completely taken away. Those who know Christ should think in this manner.

The acrostic reads: *Σέργιον ἀνύψωσε σταυρός ὡς σώσας* — «In a saving way, the cross raised up Sergius.»

There is no reason to assume that this poem was entered in a competition for the inscription that should adorn the Chalce cross. The absence of allusion to the emperors, and the personal confession of faith which the acrostic spells out, argues rather for the employment of this poem in Sergius' own (cathedral?) church. It is not impossible, in fact, that this poem antedates Leo's adherence to the iconoclastic movement. «*Νοεῖν γὰρ οὕτως εἶδῶσι Χριστὸν θέμις*» may be a

⁴⁵ Stephen's poem also addresses the Logos directly (PG 99, 437B).

⁴⁶ PG 99, 437AB.

⁴⁷ *Σαφῶς ὁ Μωϋσὴς ἐδεν-ἄρχας ἐν τύπῳ*. This allusion probably conflates the victory over the Amalekites, wrought by the Moses *orans*, with the dividing of the Red Sea, a miracle in which Moses' staff was universally interpreted as signifying the Cross, here has the direct meaning of pre-figuration or «type», properly speaking. *Ἀρχαί* is used probably in the Pauline sense of all powers of evil. It is noteworthy that this is the only direct reference to Old Testament events in these iconoclastic poems. For examples of the *topos* of the drowning of Pharaoh's host in liturgical poetry, see E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, ed. 2 (Oxford, 1961), pp. 222-228.

⁴⁸ *πιστῶν τὸ κλέος*. Cf. note 12.

⁴⁹ *Γραφὲν γὰρ ὡς ψυχόλεθρον εὐ βίῳ* / *Ἰνδαλμα τέχνης ... Ψυχόλεθρον* does not seem to have the active sense of «soul-destroying» but simply of «soul-less». *Ἐν βίῳ* appears to be superfluous and may be only used for metrical reasons. Cf., below, Appendix 5A, note 9.

⁵⁰ *ὡς κεκρυμμένον βέλος* / *Ὅρμη ἀθέσμον ανστραφέν*. The simile apparently regards the icon as some kind of poisoned arrow or as an instrument of maleficent magic. There may be an echo here of a primitive «oriental» fear of visual depictions.

veiled allusion to Leo, whose iconoclastic sympathies were already known, but not yet openly manifested.

Stephen's poem,⁵¹ like Ignatius', apostrophizes the divine Logos; moreover, the acrostic («Stephen's glory is 'to know the cross'») ⁵² is identical to the acrostic of Ignatius' first poem, except for the name, of course. An iconoclast *Στέφανος* is not otherwise mentioned in the sources.⁵³ The poem says:

Support of the faithful and [object] of divine worship, O Logos, you gave us the cross, the vivifying *typos* of sufferings,⁵⁴ for salvation. You took away the image which used to be pictured shamefully before. For this law is fit for all [to keep] thoughtfully, to reverence that very [object]⁵⁵ nailed upon which you saved [man].

This poem is marked by an emphasis on the cross as the instrument of Christ's passion, rather than on its being the symbol of cosmic and earthly victory. The author does not enlarge upon his apparent simple identification of the True Cross with representations of the same, but the central thought is clear: one may lawfully revere the cross, because it was the instrument of salvation. It is not apparent whether the theme of «The Logos on the Cross» has heterodox overtones, as John's *ὁλος θεός* definitely does. Since the emperor is not mentioned, this poem could also antedate 726. However, neither Sergius' nor Stephen's poem should, on account of the tentative dating, be assumed to emanate from the Asia Minor iconoclastic group known from Germanus' letters. The emphasis on Old Testament prohibitions of idolatry, which we found to be so prominent in the notices about the Asia Minor iconoclasts, is here lacking; by contrast, the staurology of the iambics is not even hinted at in the surviving arguments of Constantine of Nacolia and his confreres.

Having presented the content of all the poems for the reader's

⁵¹ PG 99, 437B.

⁵² *Στεφάνῳ καύχημα σταυρὸν ἐνοεῖν*.

⁵³ The assumption that it was Stephen who also wrote the Chalce inscription (Wolska-Conus, *art. cit.*, p. 352) has in its favor only the fact that the Chalce poem follows Stephen's in the text. There are no striking stylistic resemblances and Theodore does not say that Stephen is the author of the Chalce poem.

⁵⁴ *Τὸν ζωποῖον τῶν παθημάτων τύπον*.

⁵⁵ *αὐτὸ καὶ σέβειν*. It is perhaps noteworthy that *προσκυνεῖν*, a stronger term, is not used. (The poet Ignatius, it should be recalled, did not hesitate to apply the category of *proskynesis* to representations of the cross. See note 44.)

judgment, we will now take up the problem of dating this ensemble of texts. In this writer's view, the sum total of the internal evidence already points to an early dating. The poems, as we have seen, do not employ the sophisticated christological dialectic introduced by Constantine V and the Council of 754. They give no evidence for a protracted struggle having already taken place, with great reversals in the fortunes of the parties concerned; such, of course, was the case by the early ninth century. Of course one can simply reckon this as due to an «archaizing» tendency, and there is no reason why ninth-century poets could not have produced similar verses in praise of the Cross. The proposed identifications of the poet John with the ninth-century patriarch John the Grammarian, and of the poet Ignatius with his namesake, the biographer of the patriarch Nicephorus, lack any stylistic or historical confirmation; at any rate, in view of the almost total lack of prosopographic information about the early supporters of Leo, obviously identifications on the basis of extremely common names are bound to be very precarious. It would be foolhardy to deny that just because one happens to know about iconoclasts called John and Ignatius in the ninth century, there were none called by these names among the eighth-century iconoclasts!

The internal evidence, though it points in favor of an eighth-century date for these poems, is admittedly not enough to decide the question. The lack of firm chronological indications is, however, compensated for by some very telling external evidence, namely, Theodore's discussion of, and allusions to, these iconoclastic iambics. We already had occasion to refer to Theodore's refutation of several of the poems.⁵⁷ It is most significant that Theodore shows no sign of personal acquaintance with the writers of the verses; of course, he apostrophizes them repeatedly, but this was standard literary practice. Theodore shows no more or less personal animus in chastizing the poet John — who, according to certain scholars, is John the Grammarian, Theodore's contemporary and acquaintance — than in castigating the anonymous author of the Chalce poem. In addition to his refutation of the verses, Theodore makes other references to these iambics in his correspondence. In a letter to a monk, Letoius, he thanks the latter for having brought these little-known verses to his attention, so that he could refute

⁵⁶ See notes 8, 16.

them properly.⁵⁷ Theodore gives the impression that Letoius discovered the verses after a long search in obscure manuscripts.⁵⁸ He does not indicate that the authors are well-known contemporary iconoclasts. Rather, he alludes, somewhat dispassionately, to the literary demerits of the iambics, and points out that the central acrostics indiscriminately cut across syllables, instead of always coming, properly, at the beginning of the fourth iamb.⁵⁹ I find it

⁵⁷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναγρίσαι με τὴν ἀνατροπὴν, ἐδεξάμην πάλιν τοὺς ἰάμβους καὶ ἔγινετό μοι εἰς κόπον (S. Theodori Studitae Epistolae et Fragmenta, ed. J. Cozza in A. Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca* VIII [Rome, 1871], p. 208. Ep. 257, *Λετωίῳ τέκνῳ*). On the contents and dating (816-818) of the letter see A.Π. Доброклонский, Преп. Θεοδότης, исповѣдникъ и игуменъ студийскій, II (Odessa, 1914), p. 384. The iambics (476B-477A) not accompanied by a refutation were perhaps added by Letoius, who had access to iconoclastic sources; it is most unlikely that Theodore would have thus cited them without any adverse comment. I do not think that Theodore is referring to those extra poems in this remark to Letoius, as W. Wolska-Conus supposes (TM 4 [1970], p. 356). Theodore says in the letter that, after finishing the ἀνατροπή, he also received the iambics, which, in turn, imposed more labor on him. The «overturning», ἀνατροπή, does not refer to the refutation of the iconoclastic iambics, I think, but to some other work; the additional labor is, in fact, the composition of at least of the ἔλεγχος καὶ Ἀνατροπή. There certainly is no evidence that Theodore composed refutations of these additional poems. Rather, I think that, in fact, the ἀνατροπή is the answer to the iconoclastic declaration of adherence to the decisions of the Council (cf. p. 113); Theodore joined his refutation, in prose and verse, of the iambics to this ἀνατροπή. This sequence would perhaps explain the rather haphazard arrangement of the work. Theodore first refuted the ὑπογραφή, then received the five poems, and then sent the whole, the refutation of both the ὑπογραφή and the five poems, to Letoius. Letoius, in turn, appended some other iconoclastic poems, which came to his attention in the meanwhile, to his copy of Theodore's tract. Letoius' *editio aucta* was the archetype of the present text. (However, of course, I am not suggesting that the ἔλεγχος and the ἀνατροπή in the title refer to originally separate parts of the work; in works of this genre, the ἔλεγχος is the «accusation» which involves an exposition of the false doctrine (here in the form of citing the iconoclastic texts *in toto*); the ἀνατροπή is the actual refutation of the errors. This is why Theodore refers to his work as simply ἀνατροπή). Incidentally, the possibility that they were only added later by Letoius to Theodore's MS, of course, does not impugn the genuineness of these «extra» iambics; in both style and content, they belong with the poems that had the honor of a refutation by Theodore.

⁵⁸ πλὴν καλῶς ἐποίησας, τέκνον, θήλους αὐτοὺς γνωρίσας (ibid.). That Letoius made «une recherche purement historique et archéologique» has been noted by W. Wolska-Conus, *De quibusdam Ignatii*, TM 4 (1970), p. 356, note 155.

⁵⁹ ἡ οὖν διὰ μέσου ἀκροστιχὴς οὐ διασώζεται · οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν στίχων, ἐκ τῆς ἐβδόμης συλλαβῆς ἀρχεται, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης · διατέμνεις δὲ καὶ τὴν ὀπίσω συλλαβὴν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκροστιχίς. (ibid.). The rest of the letter is concerned with Theodore's versified refutation, and the need to keep it secret.

incredible that only in this detached manner would Theodore have referred to the latest iconoclastic pamphlets bandied about in the streets.

On the strength of the combined internal and external evidence, I think that one can safely say that the ideology of the poems is «archaic» because they are indeed relics of early, «pre-Constantinian» iconoclasm. Though the connection with Leo and the «official» ideology in some cases is not entirely clear, it seems that one can, with some assurance, reckon all these iambic poems as genuinely part of the dossier on the first phase of Byzantine iconoclasm.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

The source analysis indicates that Leo's Isaurian origin is a late, secondary feature even in the Byzantine documentation; the early Byzantine evidence, supported by the Syriac and Arabic chronicles, firmly attests Leo's Syrian derivation, and, more specifically, proves that the emperor came from the North Syrian town of Germanicia (Mar'aš). The presumption of Leo's Semitic origin, to which his family connections with Mar'aš point, is strengthened by the fact that he originally bore the popular, perhaps indigenously Syrian, but definitely «barbarian»-sounding name Conon.

In this period, Mar'aš, though often changing hands during the course of the desultory Byzantine-Arab border warfare, stayed firmly within the orbit of monophysite Christianity; there is no evidence for a Melkite faction or clerical hierarchy in Mar'aš, although the Jacobite episcopal succession is amply attested. In all likelihood, then, the young Conon must have been of Jacobite persuasion. Reports of his proficiency in speaking Arabic (and, hence, *a fortiori* Syriac) are entirely consonant with his Mar'ašite origin.

Conon migrated to Byzantine territory, sometime after 695, and assumed the Byzantine name Leo. It was perhaps at this same time that he adhered to Chalcedonian orthodoxy; without such a step his subsequent rise in the imperial service would have been quite impossible. There is no evidence that in matters of christological dogma he did not remain strictly orthodox; the Syriac, Arabic and Armenian sources attest his support of the Chalcedonian party, both within and without the empire. The Byzantine iconophile sources, though of course taking no pains to emphasize this, do, on the whole, concur. A monophysite tendency is discernible, however, in the ranks of Leo's iconoclastic supporters.

Non-Byzantine sources have preserved stories about the siege of 717, in which Leo is presented as the champion of the true faith against the infidel. This material agrees with the imperfectly censored pro-iconoclastic version of the siege preserved in the Byzantine iconophile chronicles. In the Armenian stories, which present Leo as a

Moses *redivivus*, we may well possess relics of contemporary imperial propaganda designed for popular consumption in a strategic border province. The *passio* of the Sixty Martyrs of Jerusalem and material in Byzantine synaxaria also preserve, in a more or less camouflaged way, remnants of pro-iconoclastic hagiography. The exchange of letters between 'Umar II and Leo, as reported in the non-Byzantine accounts, again presents Leo as a *defensor fidei*; the Byzantine iconophile tradition has simply suppressed the fact of the emperor's reply, as not being consonant with his later «Saracen-minded» apostasy. However, neither of the two documents which lay a claim to being Leo's letter to 'Umar can be accepted as authentic. The epistle incorporated in Lewond's chronicle was definitely written in Armenian, perhaps long after the early eighth century, and originally had no connection with either Leo or 'Umar. The Latin *ad Omarum*, a quite independent document, is a piece of Melkite anti-Muslim polemic, originally written in Arabic or perhaps Syriac; though it was identified as Leo's letter to the caliph 'Umar probably before its translation into Latin, originally it had no connection with the genuine Leo-'Umar correspondence.

The preface to the *Ecloga*, the law code promulgated in March 726, thus before the first overt imperial iconoclastic measures, is informative for gauging Leo's character and intentions. Though icons are not mentioned, this programmatic statement makes it quite plausible that Leo would indeed have taken a leading and decisive role in the first phase of the iconoclastic struggle. The document's emphasis on the absolute imperative of conforming to the divine will (of which the emperors are the sole authorized interpreters and executors) does not yet spell out the breaking of images; but the emperor's appeal to Old Testament standards of prophetic righteousness, the assertion of the unqualified necessity of fulfilling the divine law, with no concession to human weakness, make most plausible the events that did follow. The author of the *Ecloga* prologue can be easily pictured in the role of breaking «idols», armed with the warrant of the Second Commandment.

Detailed analysis indicates that Byzantine accounts which make a connection between Yazid's and Leo's iconoclasm are purely legendary, and are not corroborated by reliable contemporary sources. In the Syriac tradition, the iconoclastic measures of Yazid and Leo were preserved independently; the first connection is made, on purely

redactional grounds, in the twelfth-century chronicle of Michael the Syrian. The Muslim and Armenian sources do not know Leo as an iconoclast; however, the native Armenian chronicles offer valuable material on Yazid's campaign against images. Though one can easily postulate theoretical connections between the various «aniconic» cults, there is little concrete support in the sources in favor of direct Jewish or Muslim influence on Leo and early Byzantine iconoclasm in the 720's.

The existence of an active iconoclastic movement in Asia Minor, prior to Leo's first overt measures, and seemingly motivated only by a strict interpretation of the biblical injunctions against idolatry, is firmly attested. However, it cannot be proved that the Asia Minor reformers had contact with Leo prior to 726, or influenced his subsequent policies. Germanus' later accusation, that Constantine of Nacolia was the leader of the whole movement, we have argued, is tendentious and does not correspond to the facts. The supposed leading role of the bishop of Nacolia, again emphasized in 787, for political reasons, naturally faded away in the later Byzantine accounts, and left no imprint at all in the non-Byzantine sources. The iconoclastic agitation which took place in the 720's in some of the Anatolian provinces is not the key to the outbreak of Byzantine iconoclasm proper.

The first overt acts of image-breaking in the capital took place in the latter half of 726, on Leo's orders. Though the chronological evidence is conflicting, it seems that the destruction of the Chalce image should be placed in 726 rather than in 730. There is reason to doubt, however, that a cross replaced the Chalce image already in the first iconoclastic period. The effective carrying out of the imperial iconoclastic program was deferred, for various tactical reasons, until 730. The destruction of portable icons and altar furnishings appears to have preceded the defacing of the wall decorations. There is not enough evidence to accept the charge that the official campaign extended even to a destruction of relics, as some of the sources claim. Theophanes' accusation that Leo's attack was directed also against the cult of the saints and the Theotokos is not otherwise attested, and is most probably anachronistic. There is no telling evidence for asserting that Leo in any sense waged war on the monastic establishment, as Constantine V may have done.

The various statements purporting to report Leo's reasons for his

iconoclastic measures on the whole do not go beyond attributing to him a biblically-inspired antipathy to «idolatry». There is no sure evidence that Leo himself saw the image of Christ as central to the controversy, and that he cast the issues in terms of a christological dialectic. Though Leo is accused by contemporary and later polemicists of reviving almost every known heresy, there is no reason for believing, as we have said before, that in fact he deviated from Chalcedonian orthodoxy in his Byzantine period.

All the iconoclastic iambs quoted by Theodore of Studios, we have argued, should be dated as written during Leo's reign, or at least before the emergence of the christological arguments which characterize the next, «Constantinian», phase of the struggle. These poems provide some evidence both for the official attitude of the emperor, and for the personal piety of adherents of the new movement. Most significantly, the poems attest that the iconoclasts continued, perhaps even in a heightened form, the orthodox cult of the cross. The emphasis on biblical prohibitions of idolatry is also very prominent, though the language is not as permeated by Old Testament allusions as is that of the Ecloga preface. The iambs give some indication of iconoclastic agitation prior to 726, which was probably independent of the Asia Minor troubles known from Germanus' letters.

The iambs attest the existence of genuine iconoclastic sentiments, at least among an elite, most probably of clerical affiliations. The Anatolian iconoclastic troubles were quite definitely incited by members of the secular clergy. Though on several occasions in the later history of the movement, when the authorities of the day were hostile to iconoclasm, a powerful popular sentiment against image-worship did manifest itself, this was not yet the case during Leo's reign. Our study does not indicate that Leo was in fact influenced by, or imitating, other contemporary iconoclasts, following the counsel of various advisors, or simply giving free rein to a popular movement. That a heightened cult of images did characterize the sixth and seventh centuries has been amply demonstrated¹. It is, I think, quite obvious that Byzantine iconoclasm was, in its totality, a violent reaction against this tendency. But, although there is evidence for actual iconoclasm in the eighth century prior to Leo's open adherence to

¹ See E. Kitzinger's classic study, «The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm» DOP 8 (1954), pp. 83-150.

the iconoclastic cause, it is indeed the emperor's personal commitment which must be seen as the crucial factor. We have attempted, on the basis of the extremely scanty evidence, to find the motives for this all-important iconoclastic decision of Leo. In the final analysis, Byzantine iconoclasm, in its first phase, was not Jewish, Muslim, or Anatolian, but was indeed an imperial heresy, born, «in the purple», in the royal palace.

It is hoped that all the relevant secondary factors have been given their just due in the foregoing study. But, when all is said and done, the key to understanding the origin of Byzantine iconoclasm is still the person of the emperor Leo himself. To the extent that this work has succeeded in elucidating Leo's enigmatic character and his personal motivations, it has also contributed to a correct appreciation of the nascent iconoclastic movement.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

A

LEO AND YAZID IN THE ARMENIAN CHRONICLES

The Armenian historical tradition does not present Leo III as an iconoclast;¹ however, the medieval Armenian chronicles do preserve several other items of interest about the reigns of Yazid II and Leo III. To the presentation and analysis of this material we shall now turn.

The early tenth-century chronicler Thomas Arzeruni is the first to mention the Leo-Umar correspondence, and, also, Yazid's iconoclastic measures.² He does not note the siege of 717, nor does he make any allusion to Byzantine repercussions of Yazid's policy. Since Thomas stands at the beginning of the Armenian tradition for this material, his text will here be translated in full, and the character of the later accounts noted with reference to it.³

Thomas says:

Umar, son of Abdalaziz, [reigned] for three years. He was more noble than all [the other caliphs]. He wrote a letter concerning belief⁴ to Lewon, the emperor of the Greeks,⁵ and, having received the reply from the latter, he

¹ The Armenian translation of the Syriac chronicle of Michael, which does mention Leo's iconoclasm, is an exception, but, of course, does not classify as part of the 'native' historiography. This thirteenth-century version is discussed below, in Appendix 4B.

² See Inglishian, pp. 180-81, for general information on Thomas' work. Subsequent continuators added material which brought the chronicle up to the thirteenth century. The text is cited according to the Tiflis edition (1917), pp. 179-80.

³ Of course, Thomas must have utilized Greek and Armenian sources, no longer extant, for this portion of his work. But since these are not preserved, not do we have any allusion to the same in the text of Thomas or elsewhere, one should assume that this tenth-century chronicle is the written source on which the later writers depended.

⁴ *Թուղթ Հաւատոյց*, an expression corresponding to Theophanes' *δογματικὴ ἐπιστολή* (I, 399, 25). Cf. the similar common Syriac expression *ܬܝܠܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ*, 'a letter of faith'.

⁵ *Կայսր Բաղաս* rather than *Թադաւոր*, king.

publicly rejected many things from their Kuran, [in particular] the excessive mythology,⁶ because he indeed recognized the force [of Leo's arguments].

Although not daring to forsake everything, nevertheless, confounded very much by shame, he desisted from the falsehood which was reprehended by the emperor's letter, and great kindness was shown by him to the Christians... [Umar's philanthropic deeds follow, but none are specifically directed at favoring the *dhimmis*].

Yezit [reigned] for six years. He was a profligate⁷ man, and, moved by a violent spirit,⁸ he made war on the Christian people in many wicked ways. He gave orders to crush⁹ and to break into pieces¹⁰ the portrait images¹¹ of the true incarnation of the Savior and of His disciples. He broke also the standard¹² of the Lord's cross that were lifted up,¹³ because his raving spirit moved him. He gave orders for a pig-massacre and he obliterated from the land the grazing multitude of pigs. And arriving at the consummation of all wickedness, he himself was slaughtered, strangled by a demon.¹⁴ Šam who is Hešm¹⁵ [reigned] 19 years.

(Nothing further is said about Hišām or the next thirteen caliphs other than their respective regnal years.)

The next witness to the events of interest is the 'Universal History' (*Պատմութիւն տիեզերական*) of Stephen of Tarōn,¹⁶ written in the

⁶ *զոյժ առասպելազոյնն*.

⁷ *Ժանա* could also be translated as 'wicked' or 'obscene'. This characterization is repeated by several of the later writers.

⁸ *ճղկեկան Հոգւով շարժեցեալ*. There is no mention, however, of direct Satanic inspiration.

⁹ *փշրել* could also mean 'to pulverize'.

¹⁰ *խորտակել*.

¹¹ *զկենդանադրեալ պատկերս* seems to be a way of describing what one now usually means by 'icons'; that is, pictures of Christ and the saints rather than simply any kind of visual representation.

¹² *զնշան տէրունական խաչին*. The expression here seems to imply the free-standing stone crosses with which the Armenian writer would have been familiar, rather than paintings or engravings. But, of course, smaller portable crucifixes can also be denoted by the expression; in the accounts of the 'naval miracle' Leo carries *նշան խաչի* on his shoulders.

¹³ *կանգնեալ լինէին*. Anacoluthon in the text. This is corrected in the version of Stephen of Tarōn. But see below, note 44.

¹⁴ *խեղդեալ է զիւն*. The direct agency of the demon (*զիւն*) is here asserted.

¹⁵ *Շամորեհեշմ*, run together in the text. *Հեշմ* is a fairly close rendering of the caliph Hišām's name, but 'Šam' (which is the Armenian appellation for Damascus, probably borrowing directly the Arabic term *ܫܡ*) for northern Syria is less easily explained. (The loanword *ܫܡܫܐ* also occurs in Syriac, to designate Damascus or Syria.)

¹⁶ Often called *Ասողիկ* (Asotik), the singer or bard. The second edition of the St. Petersburg text (1895) is used (pp. 127-130).

early eleventh century.¹⁷ Stephen makes no mention of the Leo-'Umar correspondence; in fact, he has no notice whatever on 'Umar, not even the number of regnal years.¹⁸

However, as a simple juxtaposition of the Armenian texts shows, Stephen reproduces, almost word-for-word, Thomas' account of Yazid's iconoclasm and the massacre of the pigs. Stephen adds, after the mention of «the standard of the Lord's cross», that the same was raised high «for the purpose of the worship of the consubstantial Trinity.»¹⁹ The demise of Yazid is not attributed to a demon, but to his own frenzy (*անութիւն*). Afterwards, according to Stephen, Hešm reigned for *twelve* years.²⁰ A long account of the miracle of the cross and the destruction of the Muslim fleet is given. This narrative obviously refers to the siege of 717; Stephen's putting it in Hišām's reign is simply a chronological error of the sort which one can easily understand in the Armenian sources, far removed from the events in question. It is possible, though, that the favorable valuation of 'Umar, which prevailed in the Armenian tradition, contributed to the displacement of this great reverse from 'Umar's reign into that of Hišām.²¹ This story, which does not yet occur in Thomas Aracuni, will now be more fully discussed.

According to Stephen's narrative, Hišām demands the payment of tribute from Leo; upon Leo's refusal, the caliph sends Mslim (Maslama) to conquer Constantinople. Before embarking on full-scale siege operations, Maslama writes to Leo in the following terms:

... What is the reason for your stubbornness, that you did not submit to us? Did you not hear the evil that we brought upon all sovereignties which turned against us? We broke them like an earthenware vessel, because the promise made to our father Ismael is fulfilled. Now, I vowed not to return to my land until I shall have taken away your kingdom, and destroyed your fortified city, and made the so-called Sop'ia, which is the house of your wor-

¹⁷ See Inglisian, p. 187.

¹⁸ It is tempting to speculate that a passage, perhaps the same one that we have in Thomas Aracuni, has fallen out of the text. It is very strange that no notice is taken of 'Umar's reign by Stephen, who apparently does know Thomas Aracuni's work.

¹⁹ *ի պատճառս երկրպագութեան Համազոյ երրորդութեան* (p. 127).

²⁰ Not nineteen, as in Thomas: In fact, Hišām reigned from 724 to 743, which agrees with Thomas' entry.

²¹ Cf. ch. IV, n. 14.

ship, into a bathhouse²² for my troops, and broken²³ the wood of that cross,²⁴ which you adore, over your head.

Stephen then continues:

The emperor, having read the mocking missive, hastened²⁵ to Saint Sop'ia, with the patriarch²⁶ and the entire multitude of the city; spreading out this letter of insults before the Lord, they performed²⁷ worship in incessant prayer, for three days, without eating. Then he replied to the commander Malim: «Why do you exult in wickedness, O one powerful in iniquity? If the rod of Moses, which was the archetype²⁸ of the cross of Christ, made Pharaoh sink, even more the *vezillum*²⁹ of the holy cross will destroy you. Now, if you turn away, you choose the right thing for yourself and your host; if not, [then do] that which is your resolution.

The general Malim, when he read the decree,³⁰ was ferociously angered, and gave orders to the army to advance to the fleet which he prepared. And it came and drew near the city. When the emperor Lewon saw the multitude becoming like a forest³¹ over the sea, he ordered the chain prepared³²...

²² *լուալի*

²³ Literally, «breaking I shall crush (*խորտակեալ ջախջախեցից*), a typical Armenian pleonastic construction.

²⁴ *զփայտ խաչիկ*. Only this letter mentions that a wooden cross was in question; the account of the miracle itself has only that *Եշան խաչի*, the cruciform *vezillum*, is borne by the emperor. It is not altogether impossible that this emphasis on the wood of the cross is a confused recollection of the relic kept in Saint Sophia (see above, ch. IV, n. 25). But perhaps this is reading too much into the text; after all, it is easier to break a wooden cross than a metal one over somebody's head!

²⁵ Literally, «runs» (*կիթանայ*), hist. present.

²⁶ *Հայրապետ*, the customary designation is general for a patriarch; «catholicos» (*կաթողիկոս*) is normally used only for the Armenian dignitary.

²⁷ The indicated variant *կատարէր* «he performed» implies that it was Leo alone; not the whole congregation, who engaged in such prolonged supplications.

²⁸ *օրինակ*; the word corresponds to «representation» or «symbol» in general.

²⁹ *Եշան* again.

³⁰ *Հրովատակ*, properly a royal decree or edict sent to subjects; this is hardly the appropriate word to use for a missive of this sort. Did the Armenian translator perhaps misunderstand some more general expression, such as *ἐπιστολή* (which can mean «edict» or «command» as well as «letter») in the Greek original? For instance, in the *Narratio* of John of Jerusalem, Yazid's iconoclastic edict is called an *ἐγκύκλιος ἐπιστολή* (Mansi XIII, 197D).

³¹ The verb is *անտառանմ*, from *անտառ*, «forest». Cf. Theophanes' description of the arrival of the Egyptian deserters from the Arab fleet, *ἔσπευον φαινέσθαι τὴν θάλασσαν* (I, 397, 8-9).

³² The closing of the barrier across the harbor is described in very confused terms, for which a translation is not attempted here. One gets the impression that the Armenian translator did not quite understand the technical Greek expressions for the harbor.

and did not give anyone permission to attack the enemy, but rather, hoping in God, expected a visitation from on high.

And the king³³ himself took the unconquerable standard upon his shoulders, accompanied by the patriarch and the multitude of the populace, with candles and incense, raising a hymn, and came through the gate of the city. The king struck with the standard of the cross the waters of the sea, saying thrice, «Help us, Christ, Savior of the world.» And straightway the depths of the sea were stirred and drowned the army of Ismael. And half [of the ships] were carried along by the tempestuous surge to the regions of Thrace, and others to remote islands,³⁴ because [sic] they were more than five hundred thousand men.³⁵

Melim was captured and taken to the king. And the king said, «The Lord made my judgment, and I will not stretch out my hand against you; go to your land, and relate the marvels of God.» And he went in abashment to his own country, but not again did he gird a sword around himself.

These two passages of Thomas Aracruni and Stephen of Tarōn represent the oldest extant Armenian accounts that mention Leo. This material was then reworked by later writers who, however, most probably did not have access to other sources of information. Before tracing this later transmission of the narratives, their probable original provenance will first be briefly discussed.

It is highly unlikely that either Thomas or Stephen would have invented these stories, which deal with matters of exclusively Byzantine and Muslim interest. The material would, of course, be congenial to the Armenian chroniclers, as demonstrating the triumph of Christianity over the infidel; but the stories do not have any connection with Armenia and, therefore, most probably came from Byzantine or

defenses. For early Byzantine descriptions of the chain across the Golden Horn, see R. Guillard, «La chaîne de la Corne d'Or», *Études byzantines* (Paris, 1959), pp. 264-65.

³³ *Թագաւոր*, a term not used by Thomas Aracruni in his account of Leo.

³⁴ *և զկէսն ալէկոն ծփանոց վարեալ յաշխարհն թրակացոց, և զայսն ի կղզիս Հեռաւորս* (p. 130). Cf. Theophanes' account of the destruction of the Muslim fleet by a hailstorm; all the ships except ten were sunk; *δέκα δὲ μόναι καὶ αὗται προνοίᾳ θεοῦ διασωθεῖσαι ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀραβῶν τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ γεγονότα εἰς αὐτοῦς* [I, 399, 15-16]. In fact, only five finally reached Syria, *τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναστέαν ἀναγγελοῦσαι*. We shall presently argue (Appendix 3B) that both Theophanes' narrative and related versions in the synaxaria ultimately derive from a lost pro-iconoclastic source. The similarity in language to this Armenian text possibly indicates that Stephen's account is derived from a document which emanated from the same *diwan* as the earliest Greek version of the demise of Maslama's fleet.

³⁵ *քանզի էին աւելի քան զժբիր արանց. ժբիր = 50 myriads or 500,000. Բանդի*, I think, is a dittographic error caused by the *քան* զժ that follows almost immediately; it should perhaps be emended simply to *և*.

Syriac sources.³⁶ The account of Yazid's iconoclasm has similarities to the Syriac versions but I cannot detect textual derivation from any of the various extant Syriac notices.³⁷ Thomas' narrative of the 'Umar-Leo correspondence is to be traced to a Byzantine source; however, the well-nigh total conversion of 'Umar is not attested in the parallel, though apparently independent, account of Agapius, and is a secondary addition, perhaps by the Armenian writer himself. The story of Maslama and Leo in Stephen's chronicle is again of Byzantine origin; in fact, as we already noted, there even seem to be faint traces of translation from the Greek.

Stephen mentions among his sources, «the history of Lewond, the priest who [tells] about the coming of the Arabs and what happened on account of their violence to the Armenians.»³⁸ This seemingly implies that Stephen could use Lewond's work for local events in Armenia only. The extant version of Lewond, however, includes not only a very realistic description of the Muslim depredations in Armenia but, also, an account of the Leo-'Umar correspondence, Yazid's iconoclasm, and the miraculous destruction of Maslama's fleet.³⁹

It has been generally assumed that Thomas and Stephen depend on Lewond.⁴⁰ However, it is our contention here that the extant «second edition» of Lewond in fact utilized Thomas and Stephen for these non-Armenian events. Whether or not Stephen and Thomas used the original «local» chronicle of Lewond is not our concern now; in Stephen's case, at least, his reference to the «priest Lewond» makes this very likely. We are only interested in establishing the relation of the extant *versio aucta* of Lewond to the datable chronicles of Thomas and Stephen. The text of the Leo-'Umar correspondence given in

³⁶ It is true, however, that Maslama was governor of Armenia in the 720's (see J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886* [Paris, 1919], p. 33).

³⁷ The story of Yazid's destruction of crosses and images can come either from an iconophile Byzantine, or from a Syriac source. Since Leo's iconoclasm is not also mentioned, the second alternative is more likely. (Cf. pp. 81-83.)

³⁸ *և պատմութիւն Ղեւոնդ երկցու, որ ինչ վասն Տաճկաց եկիցն և անցից Հայոց ի նոցանց բռնութենէ* (p. 7).

³⁹ There is also an account of the Arab invasion of Syria and Persia in the earlier part of the work. Whether this should be attributed to Lewond, or is a later addition, does not concern us here.

⁴⁰ E.g., J. Muyldermans, in his edition of Vardan's chronicle, p. 104, note 6; A. Jeffery, in HTR 37 (1944), p. 270.

Lewond is discussed below, in Appendix 2; the narrative material only will be treated here.⁴¹

The framework into which pseudo-Lewond fits the text of the correspondence is adopted from Thomas Arcruni, in a somewhat awkward manner. It starts with: «And after him [Msliman] ⁴² Omar succeeded to the sovereignty for two years and five months; and passed away.» But, immediately, 'Umar reappears from the dead. «[Omar], they say, was more noble than all men of his dynasty.» ⁴³ Pseudo-Lewond then gives an account, apparently fabricated by him, of Umar's supposed kindnesses to the Armenians; here the patriotic fancy of the writer is, of course, galvanized, and he provides a detailed description of Umar's partiality towards the Armenian nobility: (Thomas Arcruni; it should be recalled, only mentions 'Umar's favors to Christians, in general.) Then the Armenophile caliph addresses his inquiry to Leo, and receives a long reply, ⁴⁴ which is given in full. The episode closes with pseudo-Lewond copying from Thomas Arcruni the caliph's supposed change of heart when he read Leo's letter, and his subsequent philanthropic policy; a clumsy sequence, since pseudo-Lewond already had made Umar the very paradigm of mildness. The alternative, that Thomas' terse and coherent account is drawn from the extant version of Lewond, is quite improbable.⁴⁵

The account of Yazid's reign pseudo-Lewond seems to have lifted in its entirety from Stephen of Tarōn, rather than from Thomas directly.⁴⁶ He adds only one rambling comment, after Yazid's destruction of the crosses:

⁴¹ The second St. Petersburg edition (1887) of Lewond is used.

⁴² Սուլիման, the writer's designation for the caliph Sulaymān (715-717).

⁴³ Հաւաստեալ արքայազն Եւսեբիոսի արքայազնին իւրոյ (p. 42). Thomas Arcruni says: Սա արքայազնին իւրեալ քան զամենայն արքայազնսն: Pseudo-Lewond seems to have merely amplified this brief statement.

⁴⁴ Pseudo-Lewond adds the detail, absent from Thomas, that Leo sent the letter «by means of one of his trusted servants.» (ի ձեռն միոյ Հաւատարմի ծառայի իւրոյ.)

⁴⁵ For instance, it is most unlikely that Thomas would have omitted 'Umar's partiality toward Armenians, which pseudo-Lewond emphasizes.

⁴⁶ Pseudo-Lewond repeats Stephen's assertion, absent from Thomas, that the crosses were erected «for the purpose of adoring the consubstantial Trinity». However, pseudo-Lewond has the same anacoluthon which occurs in Thomas (see above, note 13), but is corrected in Stephen. It is possible, to be sure, that the grammatical correction is not due to Stephen but his over-enthusiastic nineteenth-century editor. The printed text of Lewond, also, quite unaccountably, gives Yazid the name Yazkert (Եզակերտ). In the absence of a critical edition, one cannot say whether this is merely the aberrant reading of one MS or is more generally attested.

The frenzy of the demon urged him to make an attempt and to push against the solid rock; he was not able to damage any rock, but himself was crushed against that rock.⁴⁷

This addition is quite out of place here, for Yazid, although crushed by the «rock», goes on to wage his implacable war against the pigs. Of course, in the end, he is duly suffocated by the fury of the demon.

After recounting Hišām's wicked deeds in Armenia, and the failure of the Muslim campaign against the Khazars, pseudo-Lewond gives an amplified version of the miracle performed by Leo. The narrative is based on Stephen's text, with some changes and additions. Pseudo-Lewond supplements Stephen's account of the first victorious land campaign of the Arabs with a detailed description of the Muslim emir's military stratagems. The text of Maslama's letter to Leo is decked out with some additional details, as in Leo's reply to the emir. Maslama, like Yazid, tries to fight against «the solid rock» — an image by which pseudo-Lewond is apparently much taken. The obscure details in Stephen's text about the securing of the harbor defenses seemingly were not understood by pseudo-Lewond and are omitted entirely. The procession to the sea, the invocation, and the storm follow Stephen's version quite closely. But pseudo-Lewond then lets his fancy range more freely: the shipwrecked Arabs are reduced to devouring not only their horses and mules, but also their concubines and their servants!⁴⁸ None of this appears in Stephen. When Maslama is captured, Leo delivers a much longer speech than he does in Stephen; by way of compensation, Maslama is also allowed to reply at length, whereas he stands mute in Stephen's account. When Maslama returns home, the lamentation with which he is greeted is described — again a detail absent from Stephen. It is almost an anti-climax that Maslama then contents himself with simply renouncing warfare, as in Stephen's version, instead of performing some more spectacular form of expiation.

There is no need to analyze pseudo-Lewond's account of the siege

⁴⁷ յոյժ ստիպէր զնա մոլորութիւն ախոյն՝ ուն զնել . և Համբարտեալ ընդ վիսին Հաստատանոյ. վաճին ինչ ոչ կարէր ստաննել, բայց ինքն առ վիսին խորտակեցաւ (p. 100).

⁴⁸ և սով մեծ լինէր ի բանակին նոցա մինչև սպառել զձիս և զշորիս : Ապա յեա այնորիկ ձեռնամուխ լինէին ի Հարճս և ի ծառայս (p. 110). Incidentally, the detail that the Arabs ate their harem girls (Հարճք) is absent from other parallel accounts in Byzantine and Muslim sources.

at greater length; the details added are simply novelistic, fanciful elaborations of Stephen's account, and betray no sign of coming from an independent source. But the comparison with Stephen shows clearly that pseudo-Lewond depends on Stephen, and not *vice versa*.

Thus, a *terminus a quo* of the first half of the eleventh century, the date of Stephen's chronicle, is provided for pseudo-Lewond. The list of Muslim heresies from Leo's letter to 'Umar is quoted in the thirteenth-century chronicle of Vardan;⁴⁹ this extract, which verbally coincides with pseudo-Lewond's text, though not so identified, gives a *terminus ante quem*. Vardan also has a brief notice about Yazid's reign and the naval miracle, apparently taken from Stephen's account.⁵⁰

In short, then, though the «local» chronicle of the eighth-century historian Lewond did exist, and was used by later writers, this work should not be identified with the extant amplified version. The latter was rather produced sometime between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, and utilizes material from the chronicles of Thomas Arzeruni and Stephen of Tarōn. The narrative material in pseudo-Lewond, thus has no independent historical value.

The material in Thomas and Stephen was also used by other writers. Kirakos of Ganjak, a contemporary and friend of Vardan,⁵¹ copies in his chronicle Thomas Arzeruni's entry about the Leo-'Umar letters;⁵² Kirakos does not mention Yazid's iconoclasm nor Leo's miracle of the cross. He shows no knowledge of the text of the correspondence, nor does he appear to have a direct connection to Vardan's chronicle at this point.⁵³ The fourteenth-century chronicle of Mxit'ar of Ayri-

⁴⁹ Ed. Muijldermans, p. 53, 1-13. This passage is discussed further in Appendix 2.

⁵⁰ Ed. Muijldermans, p. 54, 12-55, 1.

⁵¹ Inglisian, p. 200.

⁵² Ed. Melik'-Ohanjanyan, p. 66.

⁵³ Kirakos gives a list of his sources, which includes Thomas, Stephen, Matthew of Edessa, as well as Lewond (p. 7). About Lewond, Kirakos says: *էւ Ղևոնդ երիցու Պատմութիւն որ զոր ինչ գործեցին Մահմետ և արժանաւորք նորա ընդ աշխարհս ամենայն և առաւել ևս ընդ ազգս Հայոց*: («And the History of Lewond the priest, which [tells] what Mahmet and his successors did against every kingdom, and moreover also against the Armenian people»). It is not clear whether Kirakos' reference is to Lewond's original work or to the extant version; his phrase «against every kingdom», as opposed to Stephen's «coming of the Arabs», (cf. note 38) could imply that the siege of Constantinople was already included in his text. Since Vardan also attests the existence of pseudo-Lewond in the thirteenth century, this mention by Kirakos does not provide an earlier *ante quem*.

vank'⁵⁴ mentions, very laconically, Yazid's iconoclasm and the miracle;⁵⁵ the notices are so brief that it is difficult to tell whether Mxit'ar depends directly on Stephen, or only *via* Kirakos and Vardan.

A stemma on the material analyzed above is given after part C of this Appendix.

B

LEO'S ENVOY AND THE ARMENIAN CATHOLICOS

The chronicle of Vardan gives an otherwise unattested account of an embassy sent by Leo to Armenia.¹ The princely emissary (*իշխան*), called Vasil,² is dispatched to the catholicos John Ōjneçi (718-29) to protest the latter's persecution of the «Greeks».³ The ambassador

⁵⁴ See Inglisian, p. 208. The entries go up to 1328.

⁵⁵ French translation by M. Brosset, in *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, VII^e série, T. XIII, No. 5, *Histoire chronologique par Mkhitar d'Aïri-vank*, XIII^e s. (St. Petersburg, 1869), pp. 81-82. I have not been able to gain access to Emin's 1860 edition of the Armenian text which Brosset used. Inglisian only gives a reference to Brosset's work.

¹ Ed. Muijldermans, pp. 53-54 (tr. p. 103).

² This name «Vasil» (*վասիլ*), a *hapax legomenon*, is, I think, a *lapsus calami* for *վասիլ*, Vasil, the Armenian version of the common Greek name *Βασίλειος* or *Βασίλειος*.

³ *Իսկ սուրբ պատրիարքն Յովանէս եւան յաշխարհս Հայոց զտարածեալ Յայն յամենայն տեղիս, Հրամանաւ Ումարայ*. («The holy patriarch John expelled from this Armenian land the Greeks who were spread everywhere, by the order of 'Umar»). Thus, the exile of the Greeks, a group which was the same roughly as that of the adherents of Chalcedon, was thus carried out by the monophysite patriarch at the bidding of the Muslim authorities. The catholicos may have viewed this action as a purely ecclesiastical measure, for which he was able to secure providential support from the infidel. According to Vardan's chronology, the expulsion may have been in accordance with the directives of the recent Council of Manzikert; however, Kirakos puts this council after John's xenophobic action (ed. Melik'-Ohanjanyan, p. 69). Kirakos, who mentions John's measures without noting any protest on Leo's part, relates the expulsion of Greeks of both ecclesiastical and lay status. *և նորա եկեալ Հալածեաց զամենայն յոյնս, որք էին յաշխարհս Հայոց, եթէ վերակացուք և եթէ զինուորք* (p. 68, 14-15). («And he came and expelled all those who were in the kingdom of Armenia, whether of higher [ecclesiastical?] status or soldiers»). The interpretation of the word *վերակացուք* is doubtful; properly, it means «overscers, governors», but here, contrasted with *զինուորք*, «soldiers», it seems to refer to the clergy. *The Nor Bargirk* gives *ἐπισκοπος*, *ἐφοπος*, *inspector* as possible meanings, in addition to, of course, *ἐμστάρης*, *defensor*, etc. for this word.

falls gravely ill while he is in Armenia, is miraculously healed by the catholicoi, and is thus converted to «Gregorian» orthodoxy; he then becomes a monk and dies as a saintly hermit in a cave, which is thenceforth called *Hořom-ayr*.⁴

This story, although not alluded to by any other source, Byzantine or Armenian, is not in itself impossible. The conversion of the Chalcedonian envoy to the faith of his benefactor, and his subsequent saintly conduct surely could be historical. The account seems to preserve some authentic «local» tradition, as the mentions of the hermit's cave and cross show.

Quite interesting for our study here is the attestation which this story affords for the strict Chalcedonian policy of Leo, one which even extended to a sort of protectorate over the orthodox outside the Byzantine domains. Here, again, we may well have the preservation, in a hagiographical setting, of an authentic fact about Leo's reign; just as in the case of Leo's refutation of the caliph 'Umar's letter, this material, even if known to the Byzantine chroniclers, could not well be used by them, since it presents the heretical emperor in a, to the iconophiles, unacceptable light as *defensor fidei*.⁵

⁴ Հոմոմ-այր; this can either mean «Roman cavern» or «Roman man». Vardan also mentions the curious detail that the ambassador brought a cross with him from Byzantium, and that this cross could still be seen in the cave. That an iconoclastic courtier would possess a cross is quite likely; one would be inclined to trust Vardan less had he reported that Leo's envoy brought along a miraculous icon as his prize possession. Kirakos of Ganjak (13th cent.) mentions a saintly vardapet, a contemporary of Stephen of Siwnik' (8th cent.), called David of Hořom-ayr (ed. Melik'-Öhanjanyan, p. 72, l. 11). Should this saint be perhaps identified with Leo's envoy, under a monastic name?

⁵ This Armenian account should be compared with the Arab historian Makrizi's notice that Leo actively exerted his influence for re-establishing the Chalcedonian «presence» in Alexandria, by means of the installment of the Melkite patriarch Cosmas (ed. F. Wüstenfeld, *Macrizi's Geschichte der Copten*, Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 3. Band (Göttingen, 1847), text p. ۴۴, trans. p. 57). But, according to Theophanes, Cosmas was originally a monothelite and only after his accession to the patriarchate did he join the orthodox (ed. de Boor, I, 416, 13-15). It should be noted, à propos Makrizi, that the earlier histories of Eutychius (ed. Cheikh, p. ۶۰) and, copying Eutychius, al-Makin (ed. Th. Erpenius, *Historica Saracenica* (Leiden, 1625), pp. 83-84) do not mention Leo's intervention in securing Cosmas' appointment; thus there is a strong possibility that this feature is due only to Makrizi himself, and devoid of historical foundation. On Cosmas, cf. M. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, II (Paris, 1743), col. 457-59, and J. M. Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. II (London, 1847), pp. 107-109.

C

STEPHEN OF SIWNIK' IN BYZANTIUM

The fourteenth-century historian Stephen Örbëlean gives a narrative which brings his hero, Stephen of Siwnik', into contact with Leo and Germanus, and is, therefore, of some interest to us here.¹ Though

¹ Ed. Tiflis (1911), pp. 131-144. This is a reprint of Šahnazarean's 1859 Paris edition. On Stephen Örbëlean, see Inglisian, pp. 207-208. M. Brosset has produced a translation of the chronicle, with a useful commentary (*Histoire de la Sioumie par Stephannos Orbëlian...* [St. Petersburg, 1864-...]). There are four other parallel accounts of the journey of Stephen of Siwnik'. The first is found in Moses Kalankatuaci's *History of the Albanians* (ed. Tiflis, pp. 364-66). This version represents apparently the abbreviation of a fuller account, much like the one on which Stephen Örbëlean depends. Though Stephen's dispute with the dyophysite Smbat is noted, Germanus, Leo and the *hypatos* David do not appear in the story. The books that Stephen finds in Rome are not patristic writings, as in Stephen Örbëlean, but, rather, versions of the Iliad and the Aeneid! (pp. 370-72). For a translation, see G. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Moses Dasxurançi* (London, 1961), pp. 210-212. Dowsett glosses Stephen's journey to «Rome» as meaning Constantinople (p. 210); however, the parallel version in Stephen Örbëlean makes it clear that «old Rome» is intended. That Stephen of Siwnik' would bring back a copy of the Aeneid from Rome is at least more likely than his finding there Greek manuscripts of Cyril and Epiphanius. (This passage from Moses Kalankatuaci is not noted in G. Frick, «Die syrische, die armenische und die georgische Übersetzung der Homerischen Gedichte», *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 30 (1910), col. 444-447. Šahnazarean's edition of Moses' *History* (Paris, 1860), apparently better than Emin's edition (see Dowsett, *op. cit.*, p. xi), unfortunately was unavailable to me. The two chapters concerned with Stephen of Siwnik' are separated by extraneous material in Emin's edition (Book III, ch. 16, 18) whereas in most MSS they are juxtaposed (ch. 17, 18). A new translation of the work into modern Armenian was recently published by V. Arak'elyan (*Գ. Սիւնքի յան*), (Erevan, 1969); this also follows the chapter arrangement of the Paris edition.) The second account, a brief commemoration of Stephen in the Armenian synaxarion published by Bayan, does not mention Leo or David either, but does give a list of Stephen's translations which is fairly close to the list in Stephen Örbëlean (PO 21 [1927], p. 767.) The third account is in Kirakos of Ganjak (ed. Melik'-Öhanjanyan, pp. 72-75). Though he wrongly puts Stephen of Siwnik' in the latter part of the eighth century, following Samuel of Ani's chronology, Kirakos gives basically the same story as Stephen Örbëlean; in particular he has Stephen's disputation with Smbat, and the saint's trip to Rome, undertaken with the (unnamed) emperor's encouragement. Germanus and the *hypatos* David do not appear in the story, and, instead of naming the patristic writings translated by Stephen, Kirakos gives the titles of some of his original works, which included commentaries on the gospels and Job. I have not been able to obtain G. Howsep'eano's edition of Mxit'ar of Ayrivank', (Jeru-

Stephen Ōrbēlean's account has many standard hagiographic features, and shows some misconceptions about non-Armenian affairs, it seems to have a historical kernel, and adds independent and significant evidence to the previously presented Armenian material.²

The saintly Stephen, son of the «Gregorian» patriarch of Dwin, engages in a dispute with the pro-Chalcedonian³ Armenian prince Smbat Bagratuni.⁴ The saint is the loser in the debate because he has no knowledge of profane philosophy,⁵ and is then mocked and expelled by Smbat. Stephen then goes to Constantinople and Athens⁶

salem, 1931), which gives another version of the life of Stephen. (See P. Ananian, art. Étienne Siunec'i, DHGE 15 (1963), col. 1263-65).

² It is not clear what is his source of information on Stephen of Siwnik'. Dependence on Moses Kalankatuqi's less coherent account is not likely. Stephen Ōrbēlean claims to have utilized «all the Armenian histories» *արարեալ ամենայն պատմագրաց Հայոց* (ed. Tiflis, p. 10), as well as ancient inscriptions and ecclesiastical archives. However, he seems to have depended in particular on the work of the bishop Peter of Siwnik' (*ibid.*).

³ Literally, «dyophysite», *երկաբնակ*.

⁴ This Smbat is also noted by other Armenian chronicles. See Ašat'yan, *Onomasticon*, vol. IV, p. 542 (No. 27). He should not be confused with the prince Smbat Bagratuni, the son of Ašot, who ruled in Armenia around the middle of the eighth century. (Mentioned by Lewond and others.)

⁵ *ոչ էր Հմուտ արտաքին փիլիսոփայական արհեստին* («he was not versed in external philosophical skill» (p. 134)). In Byzantine terminology, similarly *ὁ ἐξω σοφία* refers to pagan, profane knowledge. In Syriac, also, there is the corresponding expression *ܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ*, «outer wisdom».

⁶ *քանզի որպէս Աթենացիքն ի մեջ Հռոմոց և Յունաց նոխացեալ էին և մայր իմաստից կոչեցեալ յիսպանիացոց աշխարհին լատին և ելլէն դպրութեամբ. այսպէս և սոքա ի ման թորգոմայ յաշխարհիս Հայոց* : («Because just as the Athenians were foremost among the Romans and the Greeks and [Athens] was called the mother of philosophy in the kingdom of the Spanish [sic], by reason of its Latin and Greek learning, thus also are the people from the house of T'orgom [pre-eminent] in the kingdom of Armenia.») (p. 133). The mention of the Spanish kingdom calls for some comment. I don't think that even a medieval Armenian historian would have committed the gross blunder of putting Athens in far-off Spain. One should recall that Stephen Ōrbēlean wrote in the early fourteenth century. It was exactly at this time that the «Catalan company», a group of Spanish mercenaries, originally called in by Andronicus II, established an independent principality in Athens. (See Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 492-496.) Thus, Athens, in a very real sense, was «in the kingdom of the Spanish» in Stephen Ōrbēlean's time. It is not clear whether Stephen thinks that Athens was in Spanish hands ever since antiquity; the syntax of the sentence is muddled, and with some good will, one can interpret the phrase as simply meaning «[Athens], which is now in the Spanish domain.» That this strange readings is the result of scribal error is also a possibility; *յիսպանիացոց* could be a corruption of *ի*

to learn Greek and Latin, as well as philosophy proper. Although denounced by Smbat to Leo as a heretic, Stephen is able to mollify the emperor, and is, in fact, encouraged by the latter to go to Rome to find more «orthodox» writings. Before embarking on his western Odyssey, Stephen also comes into contact with Germanus, who is impressed by the saint's piety and theological attainments. Germanus entrusts him with a letter to the Armenians. Stephen also translates, at the prompting of the imperial courtier David, the writings of the Areopagite and Gregory of Nyssa.⁷ Stephen does sail to Rome, and finds there writings of Cyril, Athanasius and Epiphanius.⁸ However, suspecting the intentions of Leo, he does not return to Constantinople, but, rather, goes directly back home to Dwin. He presents the writings he found in Rome, together with Germanus' letter, to the catholicos David, the successor of John Ōjneqi.⁹ Stephen is thereupon trusted with drafting a reply to Germanus' letter; he discharges the task with predictable brilliance. Stephen's elevation to the episcopate and the rest of his career in Armenia do not concern us here.

As it was not the case with the Leo-Umar correspondence and Leo's naval miracle, here we do have a story which has a very pronounced «Armenian angle»; therefore, one immediately suspects that the inventive talents of the writer would have been called into play. However, this does not mean that Stephen's sojourn in Byzantium is pure fabrication. The person of the priest Stephen of Siwnik' is historical, and there are several theological works and translations extant, in addition to the answer to Germanus, that are attributed to him.¹⁰ It is quite possible that it was he who brought Germanus'

Սպարտացոց «of the Spartans». One MS used by Brosset has *ի Սպանացոց* (p. 81, note 3). The corruption may have proceeded thus : *ի Սպարտացոց, ի Սպանացոց, յիսպանիացոց*. Of course, Athens is not «in the country of the Spartans», but at least this would be a more easily committed error than putting it in Spain. However, on the balance, I think the first explanation, the fourteenth-century Catalan domination of Athens, is more likely to be the right one.

⁷ *Թարգմանէ գգեղեցիկ գիրսն սրբոյն Դիոնիսիոսի ... և գգիրսն քաղցրաբան Գրիգորի Նիսացոյ* («he translates the excellent book of the holy Dionysios and the book of the melodious Grigor Nisaiaci.»)

⁸ *որք էին պարապմանց Կիրղի և զանուց, և միսն Աթանասի Աղեքսանդրացոյ, և միսն սրբոյն Եպիփանու ասացեալ* : («which were the Scholia of Kiwri and the Treasures, and furthermore of Athanas the Alexandrian, and furthermore [those] attributed to Saint Epip'an» (p. 136. For the last entry, Brosset's translation wrongly gives «le livre de S. Ephrem» (p. 83)).

⁹ David Aramōneqi, patriarch from 728 to 741.

¹⁰ See Inglisian, pp. 175-76; Ašat'yan, *Onomasticon*, vol. IV, p. 603 (no. 23).

epistle, and also wrote the riposte; both works are extant.¹¹ The figure and deeds of Leo were well-known, as we have seen, to medieval Armenian historiography; but Stephen Ōrbēlean does not seem to have copied his material about Leo from other extant works. It appears most likely that the chronicler depends on a *Vita* of Stephen of Siwnik', which did incorporate authentic information about the saint's early life. It is also possible that Stephen Ōrbēlean invented parts of story on the basis of the two letters which were known to him from the *Girk' T'wog*.¹²

Of course, some of the details ought to be viewed with suspicion. Stephen Ōrbēlean obviously has only the haziest notions of Greece, let alone the Latin West. He is convinced that Constantinople and Athens are centers of both Latin and Hellenic learning;¹³ he seems to think that eighth-century Rome was a storehouse of Greek manuscripts. Though the actual colloquies with the emperor and the patriarch have little value, Stephen of Siwnik', in all likelihood, did visit Byzantium, and come in contact with Germanus and perhaps Leo. However, the trip to Rome is most probably entirely fabulous — it does not

¹¹ Both Germanus' letter and Stephen's reply are found preserved in the *Գիրք թղթոց* [The Book of Letters] (Tiflis, 1901), pp. 358-395. There is a modern Latin translation, from the Armenian, of Germanus' letter available (PG 98, 135-146).

¹² Perhaps Stephen Ōrbēlean did have access to the text of the letters. He reproduces, correctly, short extracts from both epistles: he gives Germanus' incipit, *Քրիստոս է խաղաղութիւն մեր* (p. 135, cf. with *Book of Letters*, p. 358); from the reply he quotes the phrase *«գրքստոսի խաղաղութիւն անքերելով»* (p. 137, identical with the first phrase of the second paragraph of the text, *Book of Letters*, p. 373). Of course, it is possible that these quotes were incorporated in the notices about Stephen of Siwnik' in the menologia, and that Stephen Ōrbēlean only knew the citations second-hand. In favor of this latter hypothesis is the fact that he does not give any indication of the contents of the letters. We cannot go into the further question of whether Stephen Ōrbēlean may actually have confused the story of this eighth-century bishop with that of another Stephen of Siwnik', one of the great Mesrop's disciples. (See Brosset's commentary, *1e livraison*, pp. 49-52.)

¹³ Of course, in the eighth century, though Constantinople was still, relatively speaking, a center of Hellenic studies, this certainly was not true for Athens; and definitely neither in the capital nor in Athens was Latin learning cultivated! The short, Greek, recension of the Life of Stephen of Surbž is the only other source; to my knowledge, which makes eighth-century Athens a center of classical studies (ed. V. Vasilievskij, Труды vol. 3 [St. Petersburg, 1915], pp. 73, 5-9). The long recension of this *Vita*, extant only in Church Slavonic, does not mention Athens and makes the saint obtain his education in Constantinople (*op. cit.*, pp. 78, 5-6); so says also the Armenian synaxarion (p. 767).

show any authentic topographical or historical details.¹⁴ The same holds *a fortiori* for Stephen's finding in Rome treasures of Greek patristic literature. It is almost a disappointment that we don't have a description of Pope Gregory bowing to the saint's greatness.

Of more interest is the report of Stephen's dispute with Smbat Bagratuni, and the latter's message to Leo. Here again, as in Vardan's account of the Byzantine envoy and John Ōjneçi, we have Leo presented as the champion of the Chalcedonian party, even outside the empire. That Leo then should show some favors to Stephen is demanded by the progress of the narrative; it is more veridical to send Stephen off to Rome with imperial backing. But the writer does not presume to present Leo as having been brought over to «Gregorian» orthodoxy by Stephen's arguments; it seems that the Chalcedonian reputation of Leo was too firmly established in the Armenian tradition to permit such poetic license. Stephen's decision not to go back to Constantinople, because he feared the emperor's duplicity,¹⁵ but rather to return home, like the Magi, another way, also underscores Leo's reputed Chalcedonianism.

However, perhaps most intriguing is the mention of the consul and imperial attendant David, who encourages (or assists?) Stephen to translate into Armenian the difficult works of the Areopagite.¹⁶

¹⁴ In fact, Stephen's sojourn in Rome is disposed of in one sentence: he goes to Rome, finds the works of Cyril, Athanasius and Epiphanius and seemingly right away re-embarks for home. Stephen Ōrbēlean apparently did not have access to any more material on his hero's Roman adventures. If there were a historical foundation to this phase of Stephen's journey, at least a mention of the then reigning pope could be expected. Stephen Ōrbēlean did not fill in any of the missing details; apparently his imagination was only galvanized when he was relating the past glories of his native land.

¹⁵ *Առեալ զգանձն աստուածային ծանեալ. Հոգեւին զի ոչ լինէր խորհուրդ թաղաւորին. ոչ դառնայր անդրէն.* («Taking his divine treasure and warned by the Spirit that [good] was not the emperor's intention, he did not return there.»), (p. 136). In the previous sentence, «treasure» referred to only one of his manuscript discoveries, and was apparently the title of a work; here, it denotes his entire find, it seems. (The *Theosaurus* is, in fact, a substantial extant work of Cyril; see PG 75, 24-856.)

¹⁶ *է ծանօթացեալ մեծ Հիպատոսի մի Դաւիթ անուն է. Թաղաւորական սեղանոյն կենաոի [sic]. Է ձեռնառուութեանը նորին Թարգմանէ զգեղեցիկ գիրսն սրբոյն Դիոնիսիոսի.* («And he became acquainted with a great consul [hippatos] Dawit' by name, and companion [emending *կենաո* to *կենակից*] of the royal table, and with his aid [ձեռնառուութիւն] he translates the excellent book of the holy Dionisios» (p. 135). The emendation *կեսար*, «Caesar» (adopted by Inglishian [p. 171]) is less likely; this title was earlier only given to royal princes, though in the Palaeologan period it came to be bestowed more indiscriminately (see R. Guiland, *Recherches sur*

A manuscript in the Bodleian library (No. 73) contains the Armenian version of the pseudo-Dionysiac corpus; the colophon (fol. 483) asserts that the translation was executed by David, consul and *ḡḡḡḡḡ*, and Stephen, giving the date as the second year of «Philippus», A.M. 6220¹⁷. The text of the *Scholia* and some letters of Cyril in MSS 69 and 70 are accompanied by like colophons, which place these translations of David and Stephen during the reign of Anastasius II.¹⁸ It is possible, then, that we have here authentic memory of an intimate associate of Leo, Armenian by origin, who was personally attached to his cultural heritage. Leo's entourage was not as devoid of Armenians as it is sometimes presumed.¹⁹ Finally, the naive emphasis on the ample library facilities of the capital, and of Saint Sophia in particular,

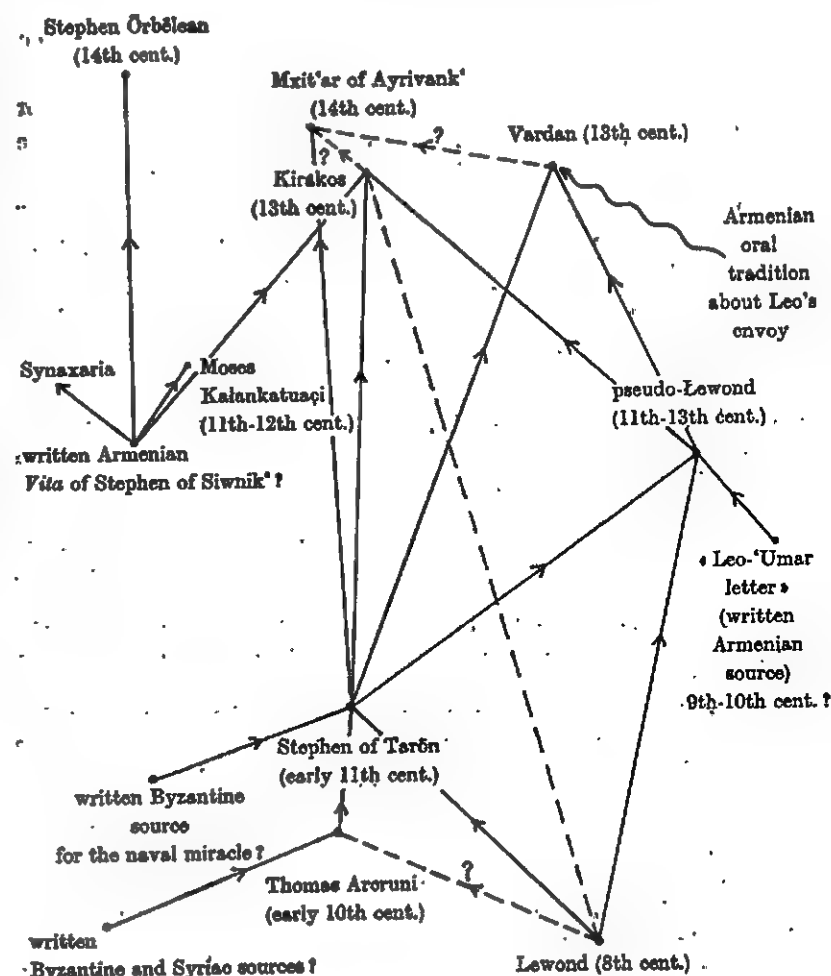
Des institutions byzantines, vol. 2 [Berlin, 1967], pp. 25-43, esp. p. 33). At any rate, the dignity «Caesar of the royal table» is otherwise unattested.

¹⁷ S. Baronian and F. C. Conybeare, *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1918), col. 169-70. The editors rightly interpret «Philippus» as referring to Philippius-Bardanes.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, cols. 159, 162. The name of the emperor is deformed to «Astas», *Աստաս* in the MSS.

¹⁹ E.g. Beck, *Ikonomismos*, p. 53. Beck is skeptical about the presence of «armenischer Sekterier und Theologen» during the first phase of Byzantine iconoclasm. We do have here, in the *ḡḡḡḡḡ* David and Stephen of Siwnik, persons to fit such a description; of course, there is no way of knowing what were their opinions about image-worship. Leo's son-in-law, the *strategos* Artavasdus, though perhaps, like the emperor, from Germanicia (see ch. III, n. 17), was of Armenian descent (Theophanes I, 386, 17). Though Artavasdus, in 741, made a bid for iconophile support in what appears to have been a very shrewd political move, he was at most an image-worshipper *in pectore* prior to Leo's death. As *strategos* of the Armeniac theme, he had to put into execution the emperor's iconoclastic decrees; since Artavasdus apparently enjoyed Leo's unbroken confidence, there is no reason to think that he did not faithfully adhere to, and carry out, all the imperial decisions, in 726, 730 and later. Of course, the iconophile chroniclers, for whom Artavasdus' eventual espousal of the orthodox cause rendered the usurper a *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, would have been reluctant to report his earlier adherence to the iconoclastic party. To avoid making Artavasdus a turncoat, the sources are silent on his stance before 741. I suspect that prior to that date, if we still had a fuller, uncensored account, Artavasdus would indeed appear as an Armenian iconoclast. (Perhaps, one may be allowed to conjecture, Theophanes' report that a *στράτης* of Artavasdus insulted an image of the Virgin during the siege of Nicaea (727) actually conceals some iconoclastic action done at the behest of the *στρατηγός* himself.) About Artavasdus' religious background, «sectarian» or otherwise, of course nothing explicit is known. However, if Eutychius of Alexandria correctly reports Artavasdus' Mar'aité origin, then one would be justified in assuming the impact of the same sort of early heretical influences on him as on Leo.

as well as on the emperor's supposed encouragement of patristic research, provide an interesting counterweight to the iconophile charges of Leo's brutal suppression of centers of learning.²⁰



(The significance of full and broken lines is the same as in the stemma on p. 82.)

²⁰ Theophanes, I, 405, 11-13; Georgius Hamartolus, II, 742, etc. See Bréhier, *La civilisation*, pp. 462-64.

D

A LETTER OF LEO IN THE GEORGIAN CHRONICLE

It is perhaps worthwhile to discuss another little-known text which may provide further evidence for Leo's foreign policy. The Georgian Chronicle¹ includes two letters from an unnamed Byzantine emperor to certain Caucasian potentates.² The correspondence is given in the context of the Arab campaign of 736, and thus the emperor in question can only be Leo III.³ The first letter is addressed to the princes Mir and Arčil of Kakheti,⁴ and the second to the *eristavi* Leo of Abgasia.⁵ The second letter, which pictures the valiant Georgian forces as having barred the way of the Muslims to Constantinople is a fantastic local production, which deserves little credence; the first, however,

¹ On this composite, but valuable source see C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, 1963), pp. 20-23. The section of the Chronicle which includes this text is considered by several scholars (including Toumanoff) to be in fact the work of Juanšer, Arčil's relative by marriage, and thus an almost contemporary 8th century source. (C. Toumanoff, *Medieval Georgian Literature* (VIIth-XVth centuries), *Traditio* I (1943), p. 170. The possibility of 11th century interpolations does, however, exist (*ibid.*).

² The text will be cited according to S. Qauhčivili's edition ქართლის ცხოვრება, ტომი I [Tiflis, 1955]; a translation is available in M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 1^{re} partie (St. Petersburg, 1849), pp. 243-44.

³ The identification of the emperor as Leo III is due to Brosset (*op. cit.*, p. 243, note 2). Theophanes does not have any material on Leo's relations with the Caucasian principalities after his accession; he does narrate at length Leo's earlier mission to the Alans and the Abasians (cf. p. 29, note 17, end). The 13th-14th century Armenian abridgment of the Chronicle (*Համառոտ Պատմութիւն Վրաց* (ed. Venice, 1884), p. 100) only says that, on the occasion of news of their victory, 'the king, having heard (this), rejoiced in the Lord, and sent to the two brothers letters of exhortation'. *Եւ լուեալ նորա խնայց ի Տէր և առաքեալ թագաւորն երկուց եղբարցն թուղթս քաջալեան*. Though the sentence is grammatically correct, the shift from the previous *կայսար* (emperor) to *թագաւոր* (king) perhaps justifies Brosset's emendation of the latter word to *թագ*, 'crowns' (*Additions et éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1851), p. 48, note 4). This would of course bring the Armenian account closer to the Georgian text, which has the grant of both crowns and a charter.

⁴ Mir died in 736 (Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, table facing p. 416); Arčil was executed in 786 on orders of the Muslim governor (*op. cit.*, p. 395).

⁵ Leo ruled from ca. 736 to 766/7, according to Toumanoff (*Chronology of the Kings of Abasgia and Other Problems*, *Le Muséon* 69 [1956], p. 82).

supposedly sent with the grant of crowns to Mir and Arčil, is of more interest, and will be here given in full.

« Mir, Arčil and Leo, the ruler of Ap'hazeti, sent an embassy to the king of the Greeks⁶ and revealed to him all that done by God through their [i.e., the Muslims'] instrumentality. And he gave two crowns and a charter⁷ to Mir and Arčil, and accompanying these [gifts] he wrote thus: 'Yours were dominion, courage, and wisdom in K'artli. Now, although you are persecuted, together with us, for the sake of the service of the Cross, when we return,⁸ as God promised to us, you will be exalted with us. But stay in your fortresses, until three hundred years pass away, because in the two hundred and fifteenth year their dominion will be divided, and at the completion of the three hundredth year the power will be given back to our kingdom, and we shall destroy the Agarenes. And everything erected [by them] will be brought low and those glorified with us will be exalted.'⁹

Such a letter, if indeed it possesses an authentic core, can hardly be expected to have been preserved in the iconophile sources. It well accords with other indications of Leo's militantly anti-Muslim stance,¹¹ which is consistently minimized in the Byzantine chronicles. Though the mention of lowliness and persecution seem to fit ill the conqueror of Maslama, these *by themselves*¹² are not an insuperable objection

⁶ Variant კეისროს, 'to the *Keisari*' (Caesar, or emperor).

⁷ გუჯარი

⁸ მოქცევასა ჩუენსა, a dative of time.

⁹ მადიდებელნი. The indicated variant მდაბალნი, 'humble', seems to fit the context better.

¹⁰ Ed. Qauhčivili, p. 239, lines 11-21: და წარავლინეს მოციქული წინაშე ბერმენთა მეფისა მირ და არჩილ და ლეონ, ერისთავმან აფაზეთისამან, და აღწევს ესე ჟოველი, რაცა იქმნა ღმრთისა მიერ კელითა მათითა. ზოლო მან წარმოსცა ორი გვრგვინი და გუჯარი მირსა და არჩილს, და მოსწერა მათ თანა, ვითარმედ: «თქუენი იყო მეფობა, სიმკნე და სიბრძნე ქართლსა შინა. აჲ დაღაცათუ იდევენებით ჩუენ თანა მსახურებისათჳს ჯუარისა, მოქცევასა ჩუენსა, ვითარცა აღმითქუა ჩუენ ღმერთმან, ჩუენ თანავე იდიდნეთ. არამედ დაადგერიით სიმაგრეთა შინა თქუენთა, ვიდრემდის წარცდეს წელიწადნი მათნი სამასნი; რამეთუ ორას მეგრეგასეა წელსა განივთოს მეფობა მათი და განსრულებასა მესამასისა წლისასა მოეცეს მალი მეფობასა ჩუენსა, და შევმუსრნეთ აგარიანნი, და ჟოველნი მათნი ამაღლებულნი დამდაბლდენ, და ჩუენ თანა მადიდებელნი ამაღლდენ».

¹¹ Cf. pp. 34-43, pp. 44-47.

¹² In our argument the authenticity of the Armenian 'letter of Leo to Omar' this is only one reason among several (see p. 170).

against a Byzantine origin for the text. The use of prophecies about the coming end of Muslim power¹² is particularly noteworthy, and, to my mind, is credible as a device to shore up the flagging morale of the empire's Caucasian allies.

¹² Of course the weakening of Muslim power in the 'two hundred and fiftieth year' could well be an *ex eventu* prediction, which would then put the letter in its present form well past Leo's time. However, I have not been able to connect this datum with fixed points of 'Abbāsid history.

APPENDIX 2

THE AUTHENTICITY
OF THE LEO-UMAR CORRESPONDENCE

There are two documents which can lay a claim to be the letter of Leo to 'Umar. The first is a Latin text, published in 1508, and of uncertain origin.¹ The second is the long tract incorporated into Lewond's history of Armenia, a work which has already been discussed in Appendix 1.²

Before analyzing these two documents individually, one should establish what they may have in common. The Latin text is only five pages in the *Patrologia Graeca*; the Armenian version is about five times as long. Much exact correspondence in phraseology can, of course, be hardly expected since both are supposedly translations, once or twice removed from the Greek original.³ However, there are more telling divergences in the content, also. Those Muslim arguments that occur in both texts (the 'loss' of the Law of Moses and its incomplete recovery or falsification by Ezra, and the complaint that the Bible has little to say on the details of the life in the hereafter) are commonplaces of Muslim polemic.⁴ However, the Muslim disputant's confusion, according to the Latin document, of Miriam, Moses' sister, with the Virgin Mary, which already appears in the Qur'ān⁵, has no counterpart in the Armenian letter. The Muslim's use, in the same

¹ PG 107, 315-324.

² Ed. 2, St. Petersburg, 1887, p. 42 ff. Translation by A. Jeffery, 'Ghevond's Text of the Correspondence Between 'Umar II and Leo III', HTR 37 (1944), G.V. Chahnazarian, 'Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie par... Ghevond, vartabed arménien...' (Paris, 1856), pp. 40 ff. A.-Th. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam* (Paris and Louvain, 1969), pp. 200-218, gives a discussion of the problems connected with the correspondence, with a synopsis of the contents of the Latin text only. Patkanian's Russian translation of Lewond (St. Petersburg, 1862) was not available to me.

³ It will be shown below that the letter given by pseudo-Lewond was, in fact, originally written in Armenian. We shall presently discuss the provenance of the Latin version.

⁴ See L. di Matteo, 'Il Tahrif od alterazione della Bibbia secondo i Musulmani', *Bessarione*, 38 (1922), pp. 64-111, 223-280; Jeffery, *art. cit.*, pp. 279-81.

⁵ Sūra 19:29. The text of the *ad Omarum* has: 'dixit quod Maria soror Aaron et Moysi genuerit Christum', PG 107, 1315B. The same point recurs in Euthymius Zigabena, PG 130, 1337D-1340B.

letter, first, of Jesus' supposed saying about coming into and leaving the world naked, and then his appeal to a passage from Isaiah that tells of two mounted riders, ⁶ are, in turn, lacking from the Latin text. The Christian arguments are also divergent in the two works; for for instance, the appeal to Helena's discovery of the cross, in the Latin text, ⁷ is not found in the Armenian letter. The appeal of the Armenian work to an Old Testament canon of twenty-two books, which correspond to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, ⁸ is not used in the Latin text. These examples could be multiplied further, but, in short, it seems that the two letters are quite independent documents, and cannot even be regarded as two separate replies to the same Muslim attack.

Recent commentators of the Latin text have depended only on the incomplete reprint in the *Patrologia Graeca*. ⁹ By a happy chance, I found a copy of the rare *editio princeps* in the library of Harvard University. Several of the problems discussed are put to rest by the editor's introductory comments, which are not reproduced in the *Patrologia*; but some new questions are also raised.

The letter is included in a work of the French physician and humanist Symphorianus Champerius, entitled *De triplici disciplina*. ¹⁰ According to the colophon, the volume (which, although equipped with a table of contents, has no pagination) was printed in Lyons in 1508. In the dedication to the jurist Yves d'Aurillac, which precedes the text, dated March 1509 [sic], Champerius says:

Nuper vero forte fortuna Lenis [sic] imperatoris epistola ad Amarum regem oblata est cuius non tam epistola captus sum: quam probavi potius pulcherrimum commenti mysterium in quo splendide sane imperator de religione christiana contra spurcissimam mahometi sectam disseritur.

The rest of the dedication is of no interest here. But, then, Champerius gives a short note before the text, which runs thus:

⁶ Lewond, ed. St. Petersburg, pp. 43-44 (Isaiah 21:7, LXX).

⁷ PG 107, 322.

⁸ See below, p. 168.

⁹ N. Popov, H.-G. Beck, A. Jeffery, A. Abel, W. Eichner, A.-Th. Khoury, among others.

¹⁰ *Symphoriani champerii de triplici disciplina cuius partes sunt: Philosophia naturalis. Medicina. Theologia moralis. Philosophia* (Lyons, 1508).

Epistola Lenis [sic] imperatoris ad Amarum regem saracenorum directae. Translata est hec epistola de greco in Caldeum sermonem. Nunc vero deo favente de Caldeo eloquio iuxta proprietatem sermonis vertimus in Latinum.

No other information is given about the provenance or character of the original.

First of all, this already shows that the title in the *Patrologia Graeca* (taken in turn from the reprint of the *editio princeps* in the *Bibliotheca Maxima Veterum Patrum*) has no authority whatsoever. It is only because of this title (« Leonis imperatoris augusti cognomento philosophi... epistola ») ¹¹ that the authorship of the Emperor Leo VI, « the Wise », would even be proposed; there is no independent tradition whatsoever about Leo VI corresponding with a Muslim ruler called Omar. The occurrence in the Latin text of the *Filioque* doctrine makes the attribution of the text to Leo VI, at least in its present form, even more improbable. ¹²

¹¹ *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, t. XVII (Lyons, 1677), pp. 44-47. The text is entitled: « D. Leonis, cognomento philosophi, imperatoris Constantinopolitani, ad Omarum Saracenorum Regem... Epistola, Symphoriano Champerio Lugdunensi, ex Chaldaica, in Latinam linguam interprete. » This edition does reprint the dedication *ad Yvonem de Aurillac*, but not Champerius' note which gives the 'Graeco-Chaldean' genealogy of the text. The text in Migne both gives the wrong date (1501) and merely says: « Symphoriano Champerio, Lugdunensi, interprete Lugduni... », omitting any mention of *ex Chaldaica in Latinam*, as well as the dedication.

Baronius already had access to a text with almost the same title. He says: « Extat praeterea adhuc ejusdem Leonis imperatoris epistola ad Regem Saracenorum... cujus hic est 'titulus': Leonis cognomento Philosophi, Imperatoris Constantinopolitani ad Omarum Saracenorum Regem... Symphoriano Champerio Lugdunensi ex Chaldaica in linguam Latinam interprete, ante annos nonaginta » (*Annales Ecclesiastici* [Antwerp, 1618], t. X, p. 654, *annus* 911). Baronius gives as his reference, « Extat to. 3 bibl. Margar. col. 1058, » but I have not been able to identify his abbreviation « bibl. Margar. ». Obviously, the work enjoyed some popularity in the 16th and the 17th centuries, as J. A. Fabricius and G. C. Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, v. VII (Hamburg, 1801), p. 700, note. (« Epistola ad Omarum, Saracenorum, de fidei christianae et Saracenorum erroribus, ex Chaldaico versa a Sebastiano [sic] Champerio, Lugdunensi, a. 1509, atque in bibliothecis Patrum. Saepius edita, ut Colon. 1622, tom. XV et Lugd. tom. XVII, p. 45 »). It would seem, then, that the attribution to Leo the Wise is due to the editor of a sixteenth-century patristic collection, who, unlike Champerius, had some slight acquaintance with Byzantine history; however, since he had no inkling of the Leo III — Umar correspondence, he wrongly identified the *imperator* as Leo VI.

¹² According to the text, Moses was informed about the doctrine of the *Filioque* during the divine epiphany on Mount Sinai. « Ne times, Moyses, ego sum Dominus Deus tuus, creator tuus, lumen de lumine, Verbum de Patre ex quibus Spiritus sanctus procedit », PG 107, 316B. Leo VI, in an authentic work, condemns this doctrine as

In attempting to establish the true character of the work, it will be necessary to take a quick look at Champerius' background.¹³ Born in Lyons in 1470, he received an education in the humanities and medicine at Paris and Montpellier. A physician to Charles VIII and Louis XII, Champerius was an author of several scientific and historical works. Though his reputation is solidly established as an investigator in medical matters, apparently Champerius' historical researches are of little value.¹⁴ As far as I could gauge, none of his work shows a first-hand knowledge of Semitic languages,¹⁵ though he did possess a knowledge of Greek. It certainly does not appear that Champerius was one of the pioneer orientalists in the West.

This last conclusion, if valid, is important, since Champerius claims that he himself translated the work from «Chaldean» into Latin. Furthermore, he asserts, that the «Chaldean» version is, in turn, based on a Greek original («translata est de greco in Caldeum sermonem»). By «Chaldean», Champerius must mean Syriac or Aramaic; Arabic is definitely designated as *lingua arabica* in works published

viewreponia (PG 107, 145B). It is not known what views, if any, Leo III held on the subject of the double procession. (See N. Popov, Императоръ Лѣвъ VI мудрый и его царствование [Moscow, 1892], p. 220, note 1. Popov recognizes that the advocacy of the *Filioque* is inconsistent with the ascription of the work to Leo the Wise, but he is not further concerned with the document's character or provenance.)

¹³ See Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* (Paris, n.d.), VII, pp. 457-58, s.v. Champier, Symphore; Hoefner, *Nouvelle biographie générale*, t. IX (Paris, 1855), pp. 628-31, s.v. Champier, Symphorien (alias Camperius, Campegius); M. P. Allut, *Étude Biographique et Bibliographique sur Symphorien Champier* (Lyons, 1859); J. B. Wadsworth, *Symphorien Champier, Le Livre de vraye amour* ('S-Gravenhage, 1962), pp. 12-13.

¹⁴ According to Michaud, «Ses écrits historiques sont méprisés avec raison; il n'y montre aucune connaissance de la chronologie et il est entièrement dépourvu de cet esprit critique si nécessaire à l'historien; aussi ses histoires sont remplies des fables absurdes.» Allut (*op. cit.*, p. 83), while admitting Champerius' weaknesses, emphasizes his pioneer role in French historiography.

¹⁵ An undated and untitled collection of Champerius' *opuscula* includes an anti-Muslim tract (see Allut, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-43 for description.) Champerius, in his refutation of Islam (pp. l-liv), gives citations from the Qur'ān, but only in Latin translation, and never transliterates Arabic words. Various Spanish and Latin translations of the Qur'ān were made in the 13th and 14th centuries; these apparently had a wide popular circulation since they were several times put on the papal «Index» of forbidden books in the 16th century (U. Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'Islam in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo* [Vatican, 1944], pp. 8-35, esp. p. 31, note 3). Champerius could easily quote the Qur'ān without having to make his own translations from Arabic.

in the same period.¹⁶ A knowledge of Arabic, on Champerius' part, would be at least more likely than a mastery of Syriac;¹⁷ but his

¹⁶ E.g., Pedro de Alcalá, *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana* (1501); Guillaume Postel, *Grammatica Arabica* (1538). However, in some medieval astronomical texts, *syriaca* and *chaldaica* do stand for *arabica*. See A. van de Vyver, «Traductions médiévales de traités d'astronomie», *Osiris* 1 (1936), pp. 682-83. In fact, if «Chaldean» does denote Arabic here, the information in Champerius' introduction can be made to agree with the hypothesis of an Arabic original, in favor of which there are several arguments (see below, p. 279). The medieval Latin translator of the Arabic text called the original *chaldaica*; Champerius, in his ignorance, reproduced the comment («de Caldeo eloquio»), not realizing the more precise significance «Chaldean» has acquired by his own time. It is not likely that any *bona fide* sixteenth-century translator would have called an Arabic text «Chaldean». (Ducange cites two instances where «Caldaei» is equivalent to «Saraceni» in late Latin (*Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, t. II (reprint, Paris, 1937), p. 283); however, no texts are provided in which the Arabic language itself is designated as «Chaldean». In the contemporary French vernacular, «Chaldéen» apparently only referred to astrologers. (E. Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française au seizième siècle* [Paris, 1925], s.v.). Curiously enough, in some sixteenth-century works, the classical Ethiopic language (Ge'ez) is called «Chaldean» (e.g., Mariano Vittorio's *Chaldaea seu Aethiopicarum linguarum institutiones* [Rome, 1548]). «Chaldean» was sometimes extended to include even Armenian! (See E. Nestle, «Aus einem wissenschaftlichen Werk von 1539», *ZDMG* 58 [1904], p. 604.) However, though many less well-known and vaguely «eastern» languages were put under the «Chaldean» umbrella, Arabic was apparently not so designated.)

¹⁷ Of course, Arabic has been quite well known among Europeans since the Crusader period; the Englishman Robertus Ketensis produced a translation of the Qur'ān in 1143, and, also, in the twelfth century, a *Glossarium latino-arabicum* was compiled in Spain. The missionaries Raymundus Martini and Raymundus Lullus were accomplished Arabic scholars. See J. Fück, «Geschichte der Arabistik» in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, III (Leiden, 1953), pp. 341-42. I could not find evidence for a similar early interest in Syriac during the *quattrocento*. The Complutensian Polyglot did not yet include a Syriac text; the New Testament was first edited by J. A. Widmanstetter and printed in Vienna, in 1555. *Liber sancrosancti evangelii de Jesu Christo Domino et Deo nostro*. Widmanstetter, a librarian in the employ of the Emperor Ferdinand of Austria, in the preface gives an interesting account of the beginning of Syriac studies in Europe. Leo X, at the fifth Lateran council (1512-17), commissioned some Syrian delegates to devote their efforts to the spread of «Chaldean» learning in Europe. Widmanstetter's teacher, one Theodosius Ambrosius, at first a lawyer, who later became an Augustinian canon, learned Syriac from these Syrian legates. Widmanstetter devoted some fifteen years to his Syriac studies, and published the text from a manuscript he found «in Bibliotheca Lactantij Ptolemaei». He certainly has no knowledge of Champerius as a Syriac scholar who, some fifty years before, already published a translation from that language. J. S. Assemani, in his account of early Syriac scholarship in Europe, also traces its inception to Leo X and the Lateran Council and makes no mention of Champerius (*Bibliotheca*

insistence on the «Chaldean» original seems to exclude this solution. For certain, in the unlikely case that Champerius is indeed telling the truth, this text would be the very first printed translation from Syriac in the Latin West.

It is not clear at all what authority Champerius had for claiming that the «Chaldean» document was translated from Greek. Perhaps he merely inferred this from the title; since the text was ostensibly «epistola Lenis imperatoris», he assumed that an emperor would write in Greek, not in Chaldean. At any rate, the assumption of a Greek original for the work is not otherwise warranted.¹⁸

Champerius, in any case, quite obviously did not have the least inkling who the writer and the addressee of the letter were, other than that the first was an emperor and the latter a Saracen infidel; the repeated misspelling of «Leonis» as «Lenis»¹⁹ seems to show this, as well as the lack of any historical note on the personages involved. At least this guarantees that Champerius did not fabricate the title himself, on the basis of his own knowledge of the Leo-'Umar correspondence from the Byzantine chronicles. The document, as it came to him, was already a «letter of Leo to 'Umar».

We already noted the occurrence of the *Filioque*, most unusual in *Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* [Rome, 1719], v. 1 prologus, sect. III [no pagination]. In the same year that he published his Syriac-Bible text, Widmanstetter put out a work entitled *Syriacae Linguae... Prima Elementa*. (The preface and the title page are dated November, 1555, but the colophon states that the book was printed in February, 1556.) The title is somewhat misleading; this work is not a grammar of Syriac. It only gives the letters of the Syriac alphabet («prima elementa» *stricto dictu* indeed!), and then some extracts from Maronite liturgical prayers, in vocalized Syriac, with a Latin translation, accompanied by transliterations in Hebrew and Latin letters. No paradigms or glossary are provided. Thesaurus Ambrosius' own *Introduction in Chaldaicum linguam... et decem alias linguas* (Pavia, 1539), only gives the Syriac alphabet, as does Guillaume Postel's *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum...* (Paris, 1538). The first printed Syriac dictionary was Andreas Masius' *Syrorum Peculium* (Antwerp, 1571). See W. Strothmann, *Die Anfänge der syrischen Studien in Europa* (Wiesbaden, 1971), p. 19 and plates XXIX-XXX. Champerius certainly could not have any grammatical or lexical aids at his disposal yet.

¹⁸ The declaration that the work is based on a Greek original may well have become attached earlier, either at the same time it came to be identified as «Leo's letter to 'Umar», or when it was translated into Latin.

¹⁹ The spelling «Lenis», which seems to presume a nominative *Len or *Laen, both unattested, appears to indicate that the translator simply did not recognize the equivalence of ܠܘܢ with «Leo». (We have already seen [p. 20] that the name Leo was very rare among Syrian Christians.)

a work supposedly written by a medieval Byzantine; this passage, at any rate, one would suspect to have been interpolated at the time of the translation of the text into Latin, by Champerius or someone else. However, also, a simple check of the Scriptural quotations shows that they are made mostly according to the Latin Vulgate; the translator, then, unless he had an exact recall of the Vulgate text, took the trouble to identify the scriptural passages, and, in each case, to substitute the Vulgate wording, rather than to translate from the original. The Latin text, then, certainly is more a revision of the original than a faithful rendering.

It would be unjustified, however, to declare on this basis that the Latin is not even a translation, and that Champerius merely invented a Graeco-Chaldean genealogy for a document written in Latin originally. The work exhibits several characteristics of medieval Christian Arabic and Syriac polemical works produced in Muslim lands. The writer prefaces his arguments with a confession of faith which puts great emphasis on the Unity of God;²⁰ this is a feature which also occurs in other works, and is designed to blunt Muslim accusations of Christian «polytheism». The work on the whole is couched in relatively irenic terms; the kind of scatological humor and the frequent asides about the low morality of the Prophet that we have noted in Byzantine works²¹ are lacking here. The formulaic phrase, «cujus nomen est benedictum», after the mention of the Creator, reflects a stylistic device borrowed by Christian Arabic writers from the Muslims.²² The *Grundschrift*, then, definitely seems to have been

²⁰ «... qui est unus et non est alius praeter sum... Credimus in unum deum, cui similis non est, nec alius est praeter eum... PG 107, 315A.

²¹ See above, p. 45. If one compares the tone of the work with that of Byzantine controversialists of the ninth and tenth centuries, the heyday of military success for the imperial armies, the difference is indeed very striking. In Byzantine works, the religious differences are reinforced by patriotic «Roman» sentiments. For instance, the «letter of Arethas» appeals to the several Byzantine victories to prove that the Muslim doctrine of the *jihad* is a self-delusion (ed. Karlin-Hayter, p. 300, 22-31). Byzantine anti-Muslim polemic became less combative in the late Palaeologan period, under the shadow of the imminent Turkish conquest (see e.g., the apologetic works of the emperor Manuel II).

²² The phrase corresponds to the common سُبْحَانَ or suchlike. This feature has been rightly recognized by A. Abel, «La lettre polémique d'Aréthas à l'Émir de Damas», *Byz* 24 (1954), p. 318-319. However, Abel's conjecture that the author is the ninth century iconoclast Leo the Mathematician (p. 318, note 1) has no foundation. Cf. note 19 for another possible trace of translation from Arabic.

a genuine piece of Christian propaganda literature, based on, and an answer to, certain written Muslim objections. The nature of the work makes it more likely that it was written in Arabic than in Syriac; it is definitely directed at a Muslim adversary, who, indeed, took the initiative in formulating and communicating his arguments. (Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that the author prepared a parallel Syriac edition, for «private» circulation, to sustain the resolution of his co-religionists.)

Neither the place nor the date of composition can be established with any certainty; in theory, the document could even be a work of an Egyptian or Mozarabic Christian. However, the fact that the work came to be identified as Leo's letter to 'Umar favors a Syrian provenance; we saw that the Syrian Agapius' chronicle mentions the correspondence; no such notice occurs, to my knowledge, in Spanish and Coptic writers. It would appear that this piece of *adversus Saracenos* literature came to be christened as «Leo's letter to 'Umar» before its translation into Latin. That this work had nothing to do with either Leo or 'Umar originally, was subsequently so identified attests, as do, also, the Armenian witnesses, the persistent memory of this correspondence among Christians of the Levant.

The analysis of the arguments used in the work helps little in dating the text. The work mentions the Nestorian heretics,²³ and makes use of the Chalcedonian dialectic of «two operations».²⁴ Though the exact phrase «two natures» is not used, it would seem that the work is of Melkite provenance. However, some of the «Chalcedonian»-sounding phrases may have been introduced by the Latin translator, who also inserted the *Filioque*, and cited the Bible according to the Vulgate.²⁵

Unlike the Armenian text, which includes a defense, albeit only a moderate one, of icons, this Latin document does not mention images and restricts itself to vindicating the Christian cult of the cross. The author also views the *Heilsgeschichte* in terms of man falling away,

²³ The author claims that Muhammad's version of the institution of the Eucharist originated from «Nestoriani cujusdam haeretici», PG 107, 322A.

²⁴ There are «duae operationes et duae locutiones» in Christ, PG 107, 320B.

²⁵ The possibility that the one occurrence of *ex quibus Spiritus sanctus* is indeed an interpolation seems to be supported by the fact that, at a later point, the doctrine is formulated in simpler «Byzantine» terms: «quia Deus ex Deo est, et Spiritus sanctus ex Deo est», (PG 107, 317A.)

under demonic inspiration, to the worship of idols, and his subsequent rescue by the divine remedy of the Incarnation.²⁶ But, significantly, the argument, known from John of Damascus, that the danger of Christians ever again relapsing into idolatry has thus been removed, and that, therefore, the making and *προσκύνησις* of images is now permitted,²⁷ is notably absent from this work. However, the silence about images coupled with the defense of the cross does not imply that the writer was an eighth-century iconoclast, by any means; the letter of Arethas, definitely written in the tenth century by a Byzantine, presents the same two features:²⁸ The attack on the black stone of Mecca, the Prophet's supposed dependence on heretical Christian teaching, the rejection of the charge that the Incarnation would have tainted the Godhead, are all constant themes in anti-Muslim polemic. There are no allusions to contemporary persons and events in the text; it could have been written any time between the eighth and the fifteenth century.

This brings us back to the question of the translation into Latin. Champerius explicitly claims that he himself translated the work from Chaldean into Latin. However, it seems more likely that the work was, in fact, originally written in Arabic, most probably by a Melkite, circulated as an anonymous text in the Christian community in Syria, and, during the course of its transmission, identified as the

²⁶ PG 107, 319B-320A.

²⁷ PG 94, 1237BC, etc.

²⁸ Ed. Karlin-Hayter, 297, 4-14. The author of the Arethas letter, interestingly, appeals to a counterexample of Muslim relic-worship, namely, the adoration of the Prophet's mantle, when he is defending Christian staurolatry. In another early Muslim-Christian disputation, again only the worship of the cross is mentioned, not images. (K. Vollers, «Das Religionsgespräch von Jerusalem [um 800D] aus dem Arabischen übersetzt» ZKG 29 [1908], pp. 216-16. The Arabic text of this work has not yet been published, to my knowledge.) See also Euthymius Zigabenus, PG 130, 1340. It seems that the defense of images is much more a feature of *adversus Judaeos* polemic than of tracts directed at Muslims; these latter works concentrate on the cult of the cross, a rock of offense to Muslims on account of the Qur'an's docetic christology. (The Muslim disputant, in the Armenian text of Leo's letter did, however, it seems, take exception to images as well as to the cult of the cross. (Lewond, ed. St. Petersburg, p. 89.) In some later works of anti-Muslim polemic, the purely literary imitation of iconophile clichés made current during the iconoclastic controversy cannot be ruled out; see, e.g., Bülüs al-Antaki, ed. Khoury, tract II, sect. 76-77 (p. 207, tr. p. 167); Manuel II, ed. E. Trapp, *Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem Perser* (Vienna, 1966), Dialogue XX, pp. 242-50).

no-longer extant letter of Leo III to 'Umar. The translation into Latin may have been done in the East, in the Crusading period.²⁰ The work originally was a *bona fide* piece of medieval Christian Arabic literature, explicitly directed at the Muslims; there is little need to postulate either a Greek original or a Syriac version. I am strongly inclined to conclude that Champerius had access only to a Latin manuscript, and simply took the credit for the translation. However, even if Champerius did produce the Latin version, neither the present text nor its no longer extant original have any verifiable connection with Leo or 'Umar. Thus, though the work is interesting as a part of the dossier on Christian-Muslim polemic in the Middle Ages, it has no relevance for our study of the antecedents of Byzantine iconoclasm.

Next in order is the question of the Armenian text of Leo's letter in Lewond's chronicle. In Appendix 1, we have already argued that the framework of the Leo-'Umar correspondence is that taken from the tenth-century chronicler Thomas Arcruni. The late provenance of the narrative details, however, does not exclude the possibility that the letters themselves, which were incorporated by pseudo-Lewond, are genuine earlier documents. In order to arrive at a decision about the historical value of the text in Lewond, a more detailed analysis of the contents and provenance of the same will now have to be undertaken.

As far as the letter of 'Umar, which precedes and provides the *mise-en-scène* for Leo's tract, is concerned, one can quickly dismiss it from consideration. It is merely a string of objections, with no attempt at a reasoned presentation of even the most central Muslim doctrines. If one compares it with the much longer letter of Leo, where the objections are taken up, and refuted, one by one, it seems extremely probable that 'Umar's letter is only a secondary com-

²⁰ There is also a possibility that the Arabic or Syriac original was translated in Carolingian Gaul; the existence of Syrian merchant communities is still well attested in the early medieval period. (See L. Bréhier, *Les colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du moyen âge*, BZ 12 [1903], pp. 11-19). The Latin translation of a Syriac astronomical treatise attributed to the biblical Nimrod, the original of which was written sometime between 791 and 826, can, with much plausibility, be viewed as made in Gaul. (C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* [Cambridge, Mass., 1924], p. 345. But cf. A. van de Vyver in *Osiris* 1 [1936], pp. 684-87.) If the translation of the 'letter to 'Umar' was indeed made in Gaul, Champerius' finding the Latin MS in some local library is made much more plausible.

pilation, extracted from the allusions in the Christian tract.²¹ Pseudo-Lewond learned from Thomas Arcruni that two letters were in question; he only had one document available — namely, the Christian polemical work. In addition to inserting references to the Leo-'Umar correspondence into the Christian tract, pseudo-Lewond also manufactured the 'Umar letter in its entirety.

This still leaves the exact nature of the supposed letter of Leo undetermined. As we have the text now, it could not possibly have been written in the early eighth century; there are allusions to Muslim sects and beliefs which arose between the latter part of the eighth and the early tenth century.²² One has to assume that these allusions are secondary, due to pseudo-Lewond himself, or an earlier reviser, if an eighth-century date is to be retained for the document.²³

²¹ The 'Umar letter should be compared to the traditional wording of such letters, inviting non-believers to accept Islam. See, e.g., M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore, 1955), pp. 241-42, for the letter supposedly sent by the Prophet to the emperor Heraclius. (Of course, it does not matter for our purposes here whether Muhammad had communications with the emperor; at any rate, one would expect 'Umar's genuine letter to have been of a similar tenor.)

²² The author mentions several Mu'tazilite schools, Karijite groups which came into being in the ninth century, as well as one Ši'ite sect (ed. St. Petersburg, pp. 60-61). Vardān repeats the catalogue, with some variations (ed. Muyldermans, p. 53). The Armenian spelling of the various Arabic names, of course, offers some difficulties of interpretation; but the 'hundred flowers' picture of Islam which the author presents is not compatible with an early eighth-century dating. The *Չաղի* (Jahdi) in particular can be fairly certainly identified with the Jāhizites, the disciple of the Mu'tazilite al-Jāhiz (d. 869). It is not at all certain that, as Jeffery says, 'in each case we have to assume, of course, that the Armenian name is an attempt at transliterating a Greek form, which itself may not be a very accurate representation of the original' (*art. cit.*, p. 295, n. 46). The deformations can be quite adequately accounted for as attempt to render phonetically unfamiliar Arabic names, coupled with a large dose of scribal corruption in the course of the manuscript transmission. Cf. Beck, *Vorsehung*, p. 44, note 49.

²³ At one point, the letter says: '800 years have passed, more or less, since Christ appeared' (*պաճք եկ, փոքր ինչ պակաս կամ ավելի, յորմէ (Հետ) քրիստոս երեւցաւ*, p. 61). This would, of course, put the letter some hundred years after Leo, but, by the same token, would also fix its redaction firmly in the ninth century. In another place, however, the text says that the Persians [likewise] did reign for 400 years (but not more, is of course the implication) (*զԳարսս, որ ն ամ քաղաքացիս*, p. 98). It would seem that this perhaps indicates a past Muslim domination of Lewond length. It can well be, though, that pseudo-Lewond inserted the reference to '800 years' on the basis of a false notion of when Leo reigned. It is much safer to depend on unwitting indications of the time of redaction, rather than on such all-too-insistent chronological signposts.

Quite crucial for our purposes is to decide whether the letter is indeed a translation from the Greek. If the answer to this question is in the negative, and the work was written originally in Armenian, then the problem of dating loses its relevance. Leo may have been proficient in Syriac and Arabic, but not, as far as we know, in Armenian — and, for certain, he would not have written to the caliph 'Umar in that language!

It has been claimed by some scholars,³³ on what appear to be insufficient grounds, that the letter is indeed an interpolated version of a Greek original. This problem will now be taken up on a broader basis: first, some of the scriptural citations in the Lewond text will be examined, to see whether they show direct dependence on the wording of the Greek Bible or on the Armenian; then, other arguments in favor of a Greek original will be analyzed in more detail. With respect to the discussion of biblical passages, it should be emphasized that neither the text of Lewond nor the Armenian Bible, nor, for that matter, most of the Septuagint, is available in a critical edition. However, the differences and similarities that we are looking for will become apparent even in the texts at our disposal.³⁴

The selected scriptural citations from Lewond will be given, followed by the Armenian vulgate (*Arm*) and the Greek text to facilitate comparison.

Job 1:21-22.

Lewond (p. 47) մերկ եկի յորովայնէ ձօր իծայ, և մերկանդամ դառնամ անդրէն. Տէր եւ, և տէր էառ. եղիցի անուն տեառն օրհնեալ

Arm մերկ իսկ եկի էս յորովայնէ ձօր իծայ, և մերկանդամ դառնայ անդրէն. Տէր եւ և Տէր առ ... եղիցի անու Տեառն օրհնեալ.

LXX Ἀὐτὸς γυμνὸς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου, γυμνὸς καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι ἐκεῖ · ὁ κύριος ἔδωκεν, ὁ κύριος ἀφείλατο ... εἶη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον.

Lewond follows the Armenian version here. The similarities to the LXX syntax are due to the ultimate connections of *Arm* with the Septuagint; but the word order and vocabulary show that Lewond's

³³ See below, p. 168.

³⁴ The Armenian Bible is quoted according to Zohrab's 1802 text; the Septuagint is cited from the eighth edition of A. Rahlfs' *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart, 1965). The New Testament text is taken from the 25th edition (London, 1969) of E. Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece*. The Göttingen Septuagint is not yet available for the passages to be quoted.

text is not the direct translation from a Greek author who obviously would have used the LXX. For instance, in rendering *γυμνός* by *մերկ* in the first, and by the more emphatic *մերկանդամ* in the second case, the text shows direct dependence on *Arm*. The omission of *իսկ* and the use of the present indicative rather than the aorist subjunctive of *դառնամ* are less significant stylistic variations.

Gen. 49:10.

Lewond (p. 50) Թուայ, ի քէն ելցէ ինձ լինել իշխան և պետ յերանայ նորա մինչև եկեացեն նմա տանգերձեալքն. և նա է ակնկալութիւն տեթանոսաց.

Arm Մի պակասեացէ իշխան յուրայ, և մի պետ յերանայ նորա. մինչև եկեացեն նմա տանգերձեալքն³⁵ և նա է ակնկալութիւն Տեթանոսաց.

LXX οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἀρχὼν ἐξ Ἰουδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τα ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν³⁶.

The first part of Jacob's blessing in Lewond diverges from both *Arm* and the LXX (which agree closely with each other here), but the latter part of the quotation, from *պետ* onwards, follows *Arm* word for word. The divergence in the first clause is, in fact, a reassuring sign for the modern editor's faithfulness to Lewond's text; it seems that he did not simply substitute a vulgate text for pseudo-Lewond's. It is quite obvious, however, that pseudo-Lewond, though dependent on a biblical text somewhat different from Zohrab's, did not translate from a LXX quotation.

Psalm 109:3 (LXX numbering)

³⁵ This is the marginal reading; Zohrab in the text gives another variant, *եկեացէ նա որոյ իւրնէ Հանդերձեալքն*. For our purposes, of course, it is enough to note that Lewond followed one current version of the Armenian text; it really does not matter here which. The witness of Lewond to the medieval transmission of the Armenian Bible text lies beyond our purview here.

³⁶ Jeffery's strange procedure for disposing of the biblical quotations in his translation of Lewond becomes apparent at this point. The biblical passages having been identified for him by the editor of the St. Petersburg text, Jeffery merely substituted some English version that was available to him, rather than translating the Armenian. For this quote, Jeffery gives (p. 285) the version: «The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a legislator from between his feet, until Shiloh come, to whom will belong the assembly of the peoples» — a rendering which, though presumably faithful to some modernized edition of the King James version, has little to do with Lewond's biblical text, the Armenian vulgate, or the Septuagint. Chahnezarian, in his translation, follows a similar method, though at least avowedly so: «Le traducteur, dans les citations de la Bible, au lieu de traduire l'original arménien, a préféré suivre le texte français de Martin» (p. 8, note 2).

Lewond (p. 70) Ընդ քեզ է սկիզբն զորութեան պայծառութիւն սրբոց քոյ. յարգանդէ յառաջ քան զարուեստի ծնայ զքեզ.

Arm Ընդ քեզ. է [իսկ add some MSS] սկիզբն աւուրց զորութեան, ի վայելչութիւն սրբոց քոյ յարգանդէ յառաջ քան զարուեստի ծնայ զքեզ.

LXX μετὰ σοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δυναμέως σου ἐν ταῖς λαμ-
πρότησιν τῶν ἁγίων · ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε ³⁷.

Direct dependence on the Armenian version is again apparent. Pseudo-Lewond omits the vulgate աւուրց (= ἐν ἡμέρᾳ). He does use պայծառութիւն as the equivalent of λαμπρότης, rather than the vulgate վայելչութիւն. But this does not show that pseudo-Lewond is following the LXX directly; perhaps he had a slightly different Bible text. A point like this could only be decided if a critical edition of the Armenian Bible, noting all the variants, were available.

Finally, a New Testament quotation will also be examined:

John 16:28

Lewond (p. 79) ելի ի Հօրէ, և եկի յաշխարհ, դարձեալ թողուծ զաշխարհ և երթամ առ Հայր.

Arm ելի ի Հօրէ և եկի յաշխարհ դարձեալ թողուծ զաշխարհ, և երթամ առ Հայր.

NT ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον · πάλιν ἀφίγμι τὸν κόσμον καὶ πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

This passage calls for little comment. Though Arm is, of course, quite a faithful translation of the Greek text, Lewond, in turn, word-for-word reproduces the same vulgate rendering, and does not give an independent translation from the Greek; this seems to be shown, in particular, by Lewond's use of exactly ելի for ἐξῆλθον, and then եկի for ἐλήλυθα, just as in the Armenian text.

For control, we shall refer to a text which is definitely a translation from the Greek. The Armenian version of Cyril's *Scholia de Incarnatione Unigeniti* will be used. ³⁸ Though most of the Greek text is lost,

³⁷ Arm directly depends on the LXX, as can be expected in this « messianic » passage; the Hebrew is quite different, and does not introduce the notion of divine begetting.

³⁸ Greek text in PG 75, 1369 ff. The Armenian translation is cited from F. C. Conybeare, *The Armenian Version of Revelation and Cyril of Alexandria's Scholia on the Incarnation and Epistle on Easter* (London, 1907), pt. 2, pp. 95-149. The translation is attributed to David the Invincible, in the manuscripts. The *Scholia* of Cyril were among the « treasures » that Stephen of Siwnik supposedly found in Rome, according to Stephen Ōrbēlean's story (see above, p. 253). The translation is definitely dated in the codices, as made in 715 A.D. (Conybeare, *op. cit.*, pt. 1, p. 168).

there are some biblical citations in the extant portion which will be sufficient for a sampling.

Cyril (Gr.) ἐξῆλθες εἰς σωτηρίαν λαοῦ σου, τοῦ σῶσαι τοὺς χριστοὺς σου (Habbakuk 3:13 [LXX], verbatim). ³⁹

Cyril (Arm.), p. 95 ելեր ի փրկութիւն ծղովորեան քում. 'ի փրկել զօճեալս քո.

Arm ելեր ի փրկութիւն ծղովորեան քոյ փրկել զօճեալս քոյ.

The Armenian vulgate closely reproduces the Septuagint rendering, as does the Armenian translator of Cyril; in this case, it is not clear whether or not the Septuagint text of the Greek author is being directly translated. ⁴⁰ The slight divergences, however (քում instead of քոյ in the first phase; զօճեալս քո instead of զօճեալս քոյ in the second) do point to an independent translation of the Greek text.

John 1:32

Cyril (Gr.) γέγραπται ὅτι Κατέπηγ μὲν ἐπὶ Χριστῷ τὸ πνεῦμα, μέμνηκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτόν.

NT ... τεθέσμαι τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον ὡς περιστερὰν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

Cyril (Arm.), p. 96 գրեալն է, եթէ էջ 'ի կերպ քրիստոսի Հոգին, և եկաց 'ի վերայ նորա.

Arm ... տեսանէի Հոգին՝ զի իջանէր իբրև զաղաւնի յերկնից և Հոգւդէր ի վերայ նորա.

The Greek text of Cyril presents an abbreviated version of the verse, omitting the description of the Spirit descending in the shape of a dove from heaven. ⁴¹ The translator reproduces this shortened text, rather than following the Armenian vulgate (which is faithful to the Greek original). Though the translator could very easily have substituted the entire verse, he did not choose to do so, and, rather, follows the citation as given in Cyril.

There are other quotations in the Armenian version of the *Scholia* which do agree quite closely with the Armenian vulgate. However, what is more important, the translation never agrees with the vulgate against the Greek text of the *Scholia*. It can very easily happen that

³⁹ Conybeare (*op. cit.*, part 1, p. 169) gives a wrong reference to Hab. 3:15.

⁴⁰ The LXX agrees with the Hebrew and the Syriac Peshitta fairly closely.

⁴¹ Of course, κατέπηγ (« flew down ») can be considered as a shorthand for καταβαῖνον ὡς περιστερὰν. It is nevertheless somewhat surprising that γέγραπται γάρ prefaces this free version of the gospel citation.

two separate word-for-word translations of the same text would be well nigh identical.

The foregoing analysis should suffice to provide at least one argument in favor of an Armenian original for the « letter of Leo » found in Lewond's chronicle. The close verbal agreement of the scriptural citations with the Armenian vulgate, rather than directly with the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament, affords at least a strong presumption, though, of course, no conclusive proof, for an Armenian original. There are, however, other indications that should also be considered relative to this question of the original language of redaction. To these, we shall now turn.

Hans-Georg Beck — working solely on the basis of Chahnazarian's French translation — makes the following points in favor of a Greek original :

1. Leo speaks of « our Greek tongue »;
2. « Thora » is translated by « nomos »;
3. *Parimons* and *Samatans* are deformed renderings of *παροιμίας* and *ᾄσμα ᾠμάτων*.⁴²

Jeffery merely repeats Beck's arguments, without adding any of his own.⁴³

As far as the first point is concerned, one ought to remember that the letter is ostensibly sent by the Greek emperor to the caliph; not even a medieval Armenian chronicler would have been so thickheaded as to make Leo proclaim the glories of « our Armenian tongue ». The second point is slightly more relevant. However, here one must again remember that pseudo-Lewond presents this writing as coming from Leo. Though the writer or editor of the document does know that law is called *νόμος* in Greek, he prefaces this observation with an advocacy of a canon of twenty-two Old Testament books. He says : « Of these twenty-two books, five are the Law which the Hebrews call *T'ōray*, and the Syrians *Ōrat'ay*, and we call *Nomos*. »⁴⁴ The canon of twenty-two books, though compatible with some Byzantine cata-

⁴² H. Beck, *Vorschung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 114), (Rome, 1937), p. 44, n. 50.

⁴³ Jeffery, *art. cit.*, p. 274, n. 14.

⁴⁴ Յայց իբ գրող Հինգն են օրէնք, զոր թօրայ երրայեցիք, և Օրաթայ Ասորիք, և Նոմոս մեք կոչեմք (ed. St. Petersburg, p. 52).

logues,⁴⁵ also appears in medieval Armenian works.⁴⁶ The remark about the Hebrew, Syrian and Greek names for the Pentateuch is not at all to the point in this anti-Muslim polemic, and gives the appearance of being a redactional insertion.⁴⁷ It should be noted that *νόμος* (*nomos*) is a loan-word which occurs in Armenian literature;⁴⁸ however, it admittedly was not the standard Armenian expression for the Pentateuch. The author is speaking as a Greek; but he certainly did not need much knowledge of the Greek language to be able to make this statement. The same holds true for his mention of the Greek names for the Book of Proverbs and the Song of Songs. « ... and the books of Solomon which the Hebrew [call] *Kohelet*, and *Širat širim* and we call *Parimon* and *Samatan*. »⁴⁹ These names, in fact, evince a phonetic type of transcription; if the writer would be transcribing the *παροιμίας* and *ᾄσμα ᾠμάτων* of the Greek text,

⁴⁵ See, e.g., Nicophorus, *Chronographia brevis*, ed. de Boor, pp. 132-133; esp. 133, 16 ὁμοῦ τῆς πολυᾶς διαθήκης βιβλοὶ κβ'. But Nicophorus has separate lists of *antilegomena* and *apocrypha*, whereas the writer of this text does not mention the deuterocanonical books. In the Ecloga, Leo quotes Ecclesiasticus (ed. Zacharia von Lingenthal, p. 12), which work, of course, is not included in the twenty-two-fold canon. Cf. p. 56, n. 28.

⁴⁶ There is extant, in a MS of the chronicle of Mxit'ar of Ayrivank', an Armenian canon of the OT, attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, which gives a list of the twenty-two books, with the names of the Hebrew letters appended (*Ալիף, բէթ* etc.), etc. See M. Тер-Мовсисян (M. Ter-Movsesyan), *История перевода Библии на армянский язык* (St. Petersburg, 1902), p. 243, for the Armenian text of the canon (with Russian translation). The coordination with the letters of the Hebrew alphabet is especially interesting, because an argument occurs in Lewond that the number of books is the same as that of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet (p. 52). The twenty-two-fold division of the canonical OT is attested as early as Josephus. (See Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, II, 1 [Erlangen and Leipzig, 1890], p. 324.) In his fourth catechetical lecture, Cyril himself asserts that seventy-two scholars translated twenty-two Old Testament books : ἀναγίνωσκε τὰς θείας γραφὰς τὰς εἰκοσι δύο βιβλοὺς τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης ταύτας, τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐβραίων κείμενα δύο Ἑρμηνευτῶν ἐρμηνευθείσας PG 33, 496B. He makes no subsequent allowance for the deuterocanonical books : τούτων τὰς εἰκοσι δύο βιβλοὺς ἀναγίνωσκε πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀποκρύφα μὴδὲν ἔχει κοινόν.

⁴⁷ There is no compelling reason to think that the writer knew any more Hebrew or Syriac than he did Greek; he may well have known these names from mere hearsay. *Ōrat'ay* approximately reproduces the Syriac word [ܐܪܬܝܐ] which does denote the Pentateuch (Payne-Smith, col. 97). *T'ōray* is quite close to ܬܘܪܐ (It should be pointed out that in medieval Armenian an ultimate « ay » was pronounced as « a ».)

⁴⁸ *Nor Bargirk'*, II, p. 439, col. 2.

⁴⁹ և գիրք Սողոմոնի, զոր կոչեցիք և Շիրաթ շիրիմ երրայեցիք, և Պառիմոն և Սամատան մեք անուանեմք (p. 53).

such deformations would be quite inexplicable.⁵⁰ But they are easily understandable on the part of someone who has never used the Septuagint, does not read Greek, but knows only by word of mouth these names of some biblical books.⁵¹

Before summing up, another observation of a more general nature will be made. The writer of the epistle closes his arguments with a declaration of his readiness to accept any sufferings and torments here and now for the sake of heavenly salvation. He acknowledges the earthly success of the Muslim empire, but, in a resigned fashion, accepts the fact as a mysterious dispensation of Providence.⁵² These somewhat pathetic remarks ring true in the mouth of an Armenian, whose land has been ravaged and subjugated by the Arabs; but the same words certainly do not sound well coming from Leo, who has just decisively frustrated the great Muslim attack on Constantinople.⁵³ In any case, Byzantine polemics of the early period never present the relation of the empire to the Saracens in terms of submitting to suffering and torture, and expecting vindication only on the Day of Judgment. It is an Armenian *dhimmi* who is speaking here, a member of a weak, persecuted minority, not the victor of 717.

We shall now summarize the conclusions of the foregoing analysis of the Armenian «letter of Leo». Pseudo-Lewond, the eleventh or twelfth-century reviser of Lewond's genuine historical work, wished to incorporate an account of the Leo-Umar correspondence more circumstantial than the short notice he found in Thomas Arscruni. He did have an Armenian anti-Muslim polemical tract available to him, but one which had no connection originally with the Leo-Umar letters.⁵⁴ To make it serviceable, he first extracted some of the main

⁵⁰ Even taking the itacism of medieval Greek into account, the first word should still be *μωνιμυ* or *μωνιμυς*, and the second, *μωνι μωνιμων* (run together, *μωνιμωνιμων*).

⁵¹ *Patimon* is probably from the genitive plural of *παρμινα*, i.e., *παρμινων*; by itacism, this came to be pronounced as «parimon», the iota becoming a glide before the omega. «Samatan» reproduces the hurried pronunciation of *ἡσάταν* (The reader is invited to test this for himself.) The writer's confusion of Koheleth (Ecclesiastes) with the Book of Proverbs is of no concern to us here.

⁵² Ed. St. Petersburg, pp. 97-98.

⁵³ Theophanes definitely puts the letter of Umar after the siege (I, 399). One should also remember that it was Umar who, upon his accession, sounded the retreat for the Muslim army.

⁵⁴ Of course, one should not exclude the possibility that the document, when it came to the notice of pseudo-Lewond, already bore the title of «Leo's letter to Umar».

points of the no-longer extant Muslim document from the answer thereto, and called it «Umar's letter to Leo». He also larded the Christian tract with allusions to the Umar letter and the putative Greek mother-tongue of the author. If the noted references to the various Islamic sects were already in the Armenian *Urschrift*, this letter cannot itself be any earlier than the ninth century; but it is not impossible that these references are due to pseudo-Lewond. At any rate, whatever the origin and date of this anti-Muslim pamphlet, it is hoped that sufficient proof has been given to show that the work was written in Armenian, and originally had nothing to do with Leo or Umar. Therefore, though it attests the persistence of the tradition of Leo as champion of Christendom in medieval Armenian literature, this text itself, just as the previously discussed Latin document, has no value for the study of eighth-century Byzantine history.⁵⁵

We have argued earlier that such a secondary attribution, in fact, happened in the case of the original for Champerius' Latin text. Thomas Arscruni mentions the correspondence in the early tenth century, and he, in turn, may depend on earlier written sources.

⁵⁵ The defense of icons which the text includes thus has no relevance to our present investigation of Byzantine iconoclasm; a study of this rather belongs to the dossier of «Image Worship in Armenia». J. Meyendorff, relying on Jeffery's work, accepts the authenticity of the Lewond text. («Byzantine Views of Islam», DOP 18 [1964], p. 125.) Meyendorff's subsequent discussion of the text (pp. 126-127) shows what valuable conclusions about Leo's opinions one could draw from the letter — if it were indeed genuine. Unfortunately, our foregoing investigation definitely indicates that the text is apocryphal.

APPENDIX 3

A

AN IAMBIC POEM ON THE SIEGE OF 717

There is extant a little-known poem, ascribed to one Theodosius Grammaticus, on the Arab siege of Constantinople.¹ The poem, written in iambic trimeters, is so devoid of exact historical indications, that one cannot immediately decide whether it is concerned with the siege of 672-78, or the siege of 717. It is necessary to have recourse to less certain stylistic considerations. Lampros, the editor, has already pointed out that the verses are consistently paroxytone, like all later Byzantine iambic poetry. George of Pisidia, the great poet of Heraclius' time, did not yet consistently observe this rule. Lampros concludes that this fact is in favor of the later dating of the poem; it thus describes, he thinks, the eighth-century siege of Constantinople rather than the first Arab attack.²

Though this manner of reasoning is quite correct, it should be elaborated somewhat further. First of all, George of Pisidia himself shows a progress in his own poetry from an early use of oxytone and proparoxytone lines to a more consistent employment, in his later works, of the paroxytone ending.³ It is not to be ruled out that his immediate successors in the latter part of the seventh century — a period from which very little literary evidence survives — already adopted the pattern which became quite standard in later Byzantine poetry.⁴ However, opposing this last possibility is the fact, which Lampros does not point out, that Andrew of Crete, in the *Iambi ad Agathonem*, written most probably in the second decade of the eighth

century, does not yet strictly adhere to this rule.⁵ The iambic passages in one of Germanus' genuine homilies, first recognized as verse by S. Mercati, are also consistently paroxytone.⁶ The iconoclastic iambs, again not noticed either by Krumbacher, or Lampros, like Theodore's iambs which counter them, are almost all consistently paroxytone.⁷ It would, thus, appear that, rather than advancing the adoption of the paroxytone verse ending into the seventh century, or to postulate that only Theodore of Studios made its use common,⁸ one should regard an early eighth-century date as most likely. The iambs of Andrew of Crete still adhere to an older pattern; the iconoclastic iambs are already *nouvelle vague*, so to speak.⁹ It also seems that the poem of Theodosius, if this criterion is valid, is roughly contemporaneous with the iconoclastic iambs.

The lack of historical information in the poem is, in fact, I think, a sign of its having been written immediately after the raising of the siege. The events were still so fresh in the minds of the inhabitants that there was no need for the poet to give any details; he did not

¹ Ed. A. Heisenberg, 'Ein iambisches Gedicht des Andreas von Kreta', BZ 10 (1901), pp. 503-574 (= PG 97, 1437 ff). The poem, written in an impeccable classical style, has several proparoxytone lines (19, 21, 39, 42, 86). Heisenberg argues, I think rightly, that this poem, a dyophysite confession of faith (see e.g. line 123) is to be dated to Andrew's later orthodox period, after the fall of Philippicus, i.e. the second decade of the eighth century (probably in the reign of Anastasius already, i.e., 713-716).

² S. J. Mercati, 'De nonnullis versibus dodecasyllabis S. Germani CP. patriarchae homiliae *Εἰς τὰ εἰσόδια τῆς θεοτόκου* insertis', *Roma e l'Oriente*, vol. 9 (1915), pp. 159-165.

³ There is only one proparoxytone ending, in Stephen's poem: *Φαύλος δ' ὅπερ πρὶν ἐγγραχθὲν ἐπλετο* (PG 99, 437B).

⁴ Maas, *art. cit.*, pp. 316-17, shows that the claim that Theodore was 'ein Reformator von Verstechnik' rests on a defective knowledge of the admittedly scanty remnants of poetry from the 'tunnel period' between George of Pisidia and Theodore.

⁵ Of course, one could claim this metrical feature as proof for a ninth-century dating of these poems; but, I think, the other evidence shows quite clearly that the eighth century is correct. The iambs inscribed with the restored Chalce image, during the reign of Irene, were already paroxytone. 'Hν κατέλα πάλαι Λέων ὁ δεσπότης / ἐνταῦθα ἀνεστήλασαν Ἐρήνη' (*Scriptor incertus de Leone Bardae, apud Leo Grammaticus*, ed. Bonn, p. 355.) The iambs appended to Pope Zachary's Greek translation of the *Liber Dialogorum*, most probably, like the text, written around the middle of the eighth century, still have five perispomenon and properispomenon endings out of forty-seven, but, accordingly, paroxytone lines predominate (ed. S. G. Mercati, 'Sull' epigramma acrostico premesso alla versione greca di S. Zaccaria Papa del *Liber dialogorum* di S. Gregorio Magno', *Bessarione* 35 (1919), pp. 65-75. The meager evidence points, I think, to the 'paroxytone revolution' having occurred in the first half of the century.

¹ See p. 43. Ed. Σ. Π. Λάμπρος (S. P. Lampros), *Ἱστορικὰ Μελετήματα* (Athens, 1884), pp. 129-132.

² Lampros, *op. cit.*, p. 141. Krumbacher concurs with this conclusion (GBL, p. 712).

³ See P. Maas, 'Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber', BZ 12 (1903), p. 289 for statistics.

Cf. A. Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia, Poemi, I, Panegirici Epici* (Ettal, 1959), pp. 43-44.

⁴ Of course, there are exceptions even in the later works. See Maas, *art. cit.*, p. 288.

have to say that Maslama or Sulaymān were the leaders of the enemy, or to note that the emperor Leo was the glorious leader of the defenders. The poem is not, so to speak, a Passover narrative, a *ἱερὸς λόγος* of events long past; it is, rather, an exultant Song of Moses — «The horse and his rider has He thrown into the sea.»

In short, it seems most likely that the poem was written not long after the end of the siege of 717. We have argued that some, at least, of the iconoclastic poems quoted by Theodore may have, in fact, been written before 726. One can, with some plausibility, suppose that the writer — whether or not he was called Theodosius¹⁰ — did belong to, or was influenced by, the milieu in which the iconoclastic verses originated. Of course, there would be no echo yet of the iconoclastic struggle if the poem was written around 718-719. There is no emphasis on the power of the Cross *par excellence*, nor any adumbration of the «naval miracle» described in the Armenian sources.¹¹ However, there appear to be a number of other resemblances to the iconoclastic iambs. The faithful beholders of the great wonders wrought by the Divinity are described in terms quite similar to those used in the iconoclastic verses.¹² The direct addressing of the Logos, already noted in the iconoclastic poems, is employed here, also.¹³ The relative absence of interest in, or at least lack of emphasis on, the humanity of the incarnate Savior, which was seen in some of the iconoclastic verses, appears in the poet's description of Christ as simply *θεὸς*

¹⁰ This information is only supplied in the title; the fact that this ascription also makes the siege occur in the reign of Heraclius does not inspire one with confidence. Θεοδοσίου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ στιχοὶ δι' ἱαμβῶν εἰς τὰ ἀραβικὰ πλοῖα ὄντων. εἶλον αὐτὰ οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει βασιλεύοντος ἡρακλίου τοῦ θεουσεβοῦς ... We have had occasion to note that information in titles or colophons, which is not corroborated in the text, should be treated with great reserve (see e.g. ch. X, n. 7). There was, of course, no Arabic siege of the city during Heraclius' reign.

¹¹ The simile of the drowning of Pharaoh in the Red Sea is employed, however. We have argued before that the iconophile sources consciously refrain from any such comparisons, lest the future heretic Leo be presented in too favorable a light. (See p. 34.) The poem says (lines 14-15): καθεῖλες αὐτῶν πανσθενῶς τοῦς ἀχένους / ὡς ὁ φαραὼ παντελῶς στραταρχίαν. Cf. Σαφῶς ὁ Μωσῆς εἶλεν ἀρχὰς ἐν τύπῳ (PG 99, 437A).

¹² Οἱ τῶν μεγίστων θαυμάτων τοῦ δεσπότην / Χριστοῦ θεοῖο προσφάτον πεφυκότες / Χείρας κροτούντες εὐσεβῶς τῆς καρδίας (Lines 1-3.) Cf. οἱ φοροῦντες τὰ στέφη / Ὑψούσι παιδρῶς σταυρὸν εὐσεβεῖ κρίσει (PG 99, 436B).

¹³ Line 24; cf. p. 121.

κραταῖος ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγου.¹⁴ The line «ἔχει σθένος ὁ Χριστὸς εἰς σωτηρίαν»¹⁵ is again reminiscent of the iconoclastic verses.¹⁶ The baiting of the defeated enemy in the well-known tones of «Lo, great Babylon is fallen» could, of course, come from either an orthodox or a pro-iconoclastic Byzantine.

At this point a homily on the siege of 717, attributed to Germanus, should be mentioned.¹⁷ This text, unlike Theodosius' poem, clearly refers to the victory of 717, rather than other sieges of the city.¹⁸ The deliverance is attributed uniquely to the Theotokos; Leo is not mentioned. The editor explains this silence by the strained relations between the emperor and the patriarch;¹⁹ however, (even if one accepts Germanus' authorship²⁰), as in the case of Theodosius' work, it is possible to attribute the same to the rhetorical nature of such compositions. The historical details are very scant in the homily; the commonplace parallel with the crossing of the Red Sea is dwelt upon, as in Theodosius' poem. The author compares the Virgin herself to the rod of Moses, both passive yet efficacious instruments of the divine will.²¹

Though it is not possible to identify the author of the *Spottlied* with any of the writers of the iconoclastic poems, the evidence does point, I think, to a real stylistic and ideological affinity. The poem gives evidence of resurgent Byzantine patriotic sentiment which could not but exult in the military successes of the «Isaurian» emperors, and see their triumphs, not unnaturally, as signs of divine favor. Those to whom this poem must have so very readily appealed would have been willing, so to speak, to follow the lead of the new Moses and the new Joshua, not only in joining battle again with the hosts

¹⁴ Line 19. See, also, line 69: κρατεῖ δ' ἀπάντων ὡς θεὸς καὶ δεσπότης. However, admittedly, the poet has little occasion to bring forth the theme of the meek and suffering Savior in this monument of patriotic *Schadenfreude*.

¹⁵ Line 68.

¹⁶ Cf. Χριστὸς καθεῖλε σταυρικῶς θείῳ σθένει / Ῥοπήν φάλαγγος δαιμόνων (PG 99, 476B).

¹⁷ Ed. V. Grumel, «Homélie de Saint Germain sur le siège de Constantinople» REB 15 (1957), pp. 183-205.

¹⁸ Grumel, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

¹⁹ Grumel, *op. cit.*, p. 188; hence the composition of the homily is placed by him after 726.

²⁰ The authorship of Germanus is only asserted in the title, and is not supported by an direct allusion in the text. But there is no compelling reason to deny that the sermon was written only a few years after the siege.

²¹ Ed. Grumel, p. 194, sections 12, 14.

of Amalek, but also — once the Promised Land was reached — in overturning the idols and cutting down the sacred groves of the latter-day Canaanites.

B

SOME HAGIOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS OF THE SIEGE OF 717

First, the *passio* of the Sixty Martyrs of Jerusalem will be discussed.¹ The colophon of the earlier extant Greek text states explicitly that the work was translated from Syriac by an anonymous translator at the urging of a monk, John, who probably lived in the vicinity of Jerusalem.² After an exhortatory preamble made up for the most part of biblical quotations,³ the work gives an account of

¹ Edited, from *Coisl.* 303, fol. 177-181, by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, PPS 12, 1 (1892), pp. 1-7 (preface pp. I-III). As the editor indicates, there is another exemplar of the text in a 17th-18th cent. MS in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale, No. 111, fol. 13 ff. See H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles...* (Gand, 1885), p. 37. The Latin version earlier printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Oct. IX [1858], p. 358 ff) is a modern translation, made from the Paris MS. A longer, late version, *παρὰ Συμείων μοναχοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ ἡσυχαστοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου σπηλαίου τοῦ Τεσσαρακονθήμερου*, was also edited by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, PPS 19, 3 (1907), pp. 136-163. This edition is based on two MSS, Vat. 2042, fol. 202-211r. and Codex Messanensis No. μβ' fol. 96v-105v (dated 1308 A.D.). The two different recensions have been briefly compared by Loparev (VV 19 [1912], pp. 1-10). We are here not concerned with establishing the exact relationship of the Syriac original and the two Greek versions, nor to provide a detailed commentary on the *passio* and its historicity. At present, these texts only interest us insofar as they are related to Leo III and the iconoclastic controversy. (Incidentally, in Symeon's version the number of martyrs is sixty-three.)

² Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης εὐτελὴς μονάζων καθελόμενος ἐν τῷ ταπεινῷ μου κελίῳ καὶ ἀναγινώσκων, μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων μαρτυρικῶν ὑπομνημάτων καὶ ταῦτα συριγτὶ ἀνέγγων τῶν ἁγίων ἐξήκοντα μαρτύρων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ... ἔδοξε τῇ ἐμῇ μετριότητι προτρέψασθαι τὸν ἑλληνοστὶ ταῦτα μεταφράζοντα. (p. 7). John, a pious devotee of relics (εἰσελθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ... Καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν τόπον καὶ προσκυνητικῶς περιπτύξάμενος τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων λαύρανα, καὶ πιστεύσας ὅτι καὶ ἰάσεις δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιτελοῦνται [p. 7]), certainly had no inkling that Leo 'abhorred' or burned the relics of saints.

³ Ἀγαπητοί, οἱ τὸν νόμον κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς νηφόντως μελετήσαντες κτλ. (p. 1). The biblical citations are all made according to the Greek vulgate text, and are not translated directly from the Pšitta. Moreover, the preamble ends with an allusion to the liturgical commemoration (διὰ τοῦτο ταῖς τούτων ἱεραῖς μνήμας καὶ ἐτησίαις ἑορταῖς ἔδοξάσθαι κυρίως ὁ Θεὸς κτλ.) I think that this whole first section was added later, when the martyrdom was incorporated in a lectionary and that it was

the Arab siege of Constantinople in 717, from a very pro-Byzantine viewpoint.⁴ It then tells that a seven-year peace was concluded between Leo and the Saracens; the agreement specified free access to the holy places of Palestine for Byzantine pilgrims.⁵ The rest of the narrative is taken up by the piteous story of how a large group of

not part of the Syriac text translated for John. It is unlikely that John himself added the preface. The narrative itself (pp. 2-7) has no explicit biblical quotations. (By contrast, the long recension has biblical citations throughout, all according to the Greek vulgate text. There seems to be little doubt that this latter version, which, unlike John's, does not claim to have been translated from Syriac, was indeed composed in Greek.) The *depositio* of the relics is indicated in the text for October twenty-first (p. 7), with an indication of yearly commemoration, *εἰς δοξολογίαν καὶ ἐτησίαν ἑορτήν*. Apparently there are mentions of the 'sixty martyrs of Jerusalem' in some Greek menaia; see J. Martinov, *Annus ecclesiasticus graeco-slavicus*, AA.SS. Octobris XI (1870), p. 253.

⁴ The details given about the siege do not primarily concern us (R. Guiland's article on the siege of 717 does not mention this narrative. See ch. VI, n. 4.) According to this work, the caliph Sulaymān personally led the Arab host *Σολομὼν ὁ τοῦ Ἀνακροδούλου* [(p. 2), a literal translation of Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik]. Though the warlike preparations of the Arabs are described in epic detail (*ἔπλα τε παντοδαπὰ ἐπιφερόμενος, λέγω δὲ ξίφη καὶ δόρατα, ἀσπίδας τε καὶ θώρακας, περικεφαλὰς τε καὶ περικνημίδας, τόξα τε καὶ βέλη κτλ.* [p. 2]), very little is said about the besieged: that Leo ordered water to be stored up when he heard the news of the approaching Arabs (p. 3) is the only note on the defenders' preparations. When the failure of the siege became evident, an Arab envoy, a clever eunuch of the caliph's entourage (*εὐνοῦχος τις, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν αὐτοῦ* [p. 3]) was sent to negotiate with the emperor. None of this information, even if incomplete or incorrect, is incompatible with the fragmentary knowledge that a Palestinian Christian may have had about the siege some decades after the events in question. If the work were of Byzantine provenance, more detail on the siege could be expected. The long recension omits all mention of the siege; instead, it substitutes an account of the beginnings of iconoclasm and Germanus' deposition, taken from the *Vita Stephani* (pp. 138-39); accordingly, this version cannot be earlier than the ninth century. (The dependence is not noted in J. Gill, 'The Life of Stephen the Younger by Stephen the Deacon: Debts and Loans', OCP 6 [1940], pp. 114 ff.) The translation was made after Leo's death, but probably not long after the middle of the eighth century. See below, p. 178. We shall presently discuss the contrasting attitudes manifested in the two recensions toward Leo (see note 12).

⁵ συμβιβάζει πρὸς ἑπταετίας εἰρήνην ... καὶ οἱ βουλόμενοι προσκυνῆσαι τοὺς θεοσιβίαις Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν τόπους ἀνεπηρέαστοι καὶ ἀλώβητοι ἔσονται. (p. 3). This is the only documentary evidence for a treaty made between Leo and the caliph (see Bréhier, *Byzance*, p. 76, note 5). Symeon's version, which omits all mention of the siege (see previous note) merely says: Ἦν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεάσασθαι καὶ περιπτύξασθαι τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ σεβασμίους τόπους τῶν Ἱερουσαλήμων (p. 138, 5-7). According to this account, one of the reasons for the martyrs' coming to Palestine was to escape from Leo's iconoclastic policy! (p. 138, 16-17).

such pious sightseers were unaccountably arrested, and, upon the refusal of any of them to apostatize, tortured and put to death by the Muslim authorities.⁶

The *passio* itself does not concern us now; it is strange, however, that none of the Byzantine historical sources proper note such a large-scale massacre of Byzantine nobles. Though the possibility exists that the work is a Byzantine pseudograph, on the balance the evidence favors authenticity.⁷ Of immediate interest are the men-

⁶ The pilgrimage supposedly took place in the seventh year of the peace, i.e., probably 724 or 725, thus before the actual outbreak of the iconoclastic struggle. Τῷ δὲ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει τῆς δοθείσης προθεσμίας ἑβδομήκοντα ἡντρεπίσθησαν ἄρχοντες, ἐπίεμνοι τῆς τῶν ἀξιεράστων τόπιον προσκυνήσεως· καὶ ἐληλυθότες σὺν ἱππικοῖς ὄχημασι καὶ διαφόροις ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς πρεπούσαις τῶν παιδῶν δορυφορίαις. καὶ πλείστοις χρήμασι (p. 4, 1-5). Assuming that the basic plot is historical (see next note), it is possible perhaps to provide an explanation for the Arabs' seemingly arbitrary action. The foregoing description of the group is more like that of a small commando expedition than one of harmless pilgrims with palm branches (seventy ἄρχοντες and a well-armed entourage); the group did come during the last year of the treaty's validity, and perhaps the Muslims already considered it as having expired. (The account of the martyrs' arrest in the long version makes clear that they were apprehended on the charge of illegal entry into Muslim territory (οἱ ὄντες Ἀραβες ἐν τῇ Ἁγρᾷ Πόλει καὶ φυλάσσοντες τὰς ὁδοὺς, ... φθάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ προρρηθέντι καταλύματι ἐκράτησαν ἐρωτῶντες αὐτοὺς, πόθεν τε εἰεν καὶ ἐκ ποίας χώρας καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν κατέλαβον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Οἱ δὲ θεοσεβεῖς ... ψευδεσθαι οὐκ ᾔδεισαν, ἀλλὰ ... τὴν ἐνεγκραμένην ἀνωμολόγουν καὶ ἐπὶ ποταῖς αἰτίαις ζετιτεῦναι οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτοντο. Οἱ μὲντοι Ἀραβες, ταῦτα ἀκηκόες, δεσμίους αὐτοὺς ἀπήγαγον πρὸς τὸν Καισαρείας τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἡγήτορα (pp. 141-42). The short version merely says that the Arabs pounced on the saints, φθόνῳ βαλλόμενοι (p. 4). John's narrative itself gives evidence for very strong anti-Muslim feeling among the *dhimmis* of Palestine in this period; not all Christians of the Levant reserved their rancor, as did John of Damascus, for the Byzantine iconoclasts. One can easily imagine that the nervous Muslim authorities, ruling over a sullen and hostile population, would regard these armed 'pilgrims' as spies or *agents provocateurs*, and act accordingly. Perhaps the *passio* disguises, in fact, a case of quick military arrest and execution, and all of the gruesome tortures, inducements to apostatize, and glorious *confessiones fidei* are inventions of the hagiographers.

⁷ We shall presently note the favorable attitude taken by the putative Syriac original toward the emperor Leo. One could speculate that, rather being translated for the humble monk John, from a Syriac text, this stridently pro-Leonine and anti-Muslim piece is, in fact, of Byzantine origin, written under the aegis of Constantine V. Circulated as a propaganda piece, the colophon would then be pure invention. That there is a second version of the martyrdom, written from an iconophile standpoint, in itself would only prove the persistence of the fraud. One could easily argue that Symeon's long version is only based on data from the short Greek version, rather than also on independent traditions. (As we have said, the detailed investigation of the relation between the two versions is not our concern now. That the names given do not coincide in the two accounts argues against immediate dependence (in John's version, "the spokes-

tions of the emperor Leo. Though John's Greek version was produced after Leo's death, it does not register anti-iconoclastic feeling; in fact, it calls Leo *δ τῆς δόξας μνήμης*, of blessed memory.⁸ However, whether or not this phrase is the translator's addition, there is a plethora of other flattering epithets in his work which, in all likelihood, correspond to similar expressions in the Syriac original.⁹ There is, to

men for the group are Γεώργιος, Ἰωάννης, Ἰουλιανός (p. 5, 23-24); in Symeon's, they are called Θεόδουλος, Εὐσέβιος and Δαυὶδ (p. 146, 26). The long version also gives a complete roster (p. 162, 17-27): in this catalogue, the name Ἰωάννης occurs but not the other two. In the development of legend, as we shall have occasion to note (App. 3C, note 22), the naming of minor figures is usually a secondary feature. It is quite likely that, in an earlier version, no names were given to the martyrs.) However, against such a reconstruction argues the paucity of Byzantine detail about the siege; surely, Constantine's chancery could have provided better and more resplendent information about Leo's conduct of the siege. The translation of 'Abd al-Malik as Ἀνακτόδουλος also indicates a mechanical, but correct, rendering of a Semitic name; the unintelligent comment in the long version should be noted as a comparison: τυράννω, Σολομώντι τὸ ὄνομα, Μιχαὴν δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν (p. 143, 28-29). This second writer, certainly did not know the Syriac or Arabic word for 'king'. Though there is no other obvious internal evidence of translation, these facts, combined with the relative wealth of topographic detail, do argue for the Palestinian provenance of a Syriac original. Also, *Coisl.* 303, from which Papadopoulos-Kerameus published the text, is of Palestinian provenance (X-XI cent.) and the *passio* forms part of a collection of other Egyptian, Palestinian and Syrian saints' lives. (See R. Devresse, *Le fonds Coisl.* [Paris, 1945], pp. 286-88, for a description of the MS.) Then there is the 'archeological' evidence: after all, John was supposedly shown the martyrs' bones. It would be perhaps too fantastic to suppose that the custodians were *agents provocateurs* in Byzantine pay, who fabricated the whole story only to fan anti-Muslim feeling! Whether these martyrs were in fact innocent lambs slaughtered for the faith, or only military casualties in a quasi-guerilla warfare, is, however, a more debatable question. (See above, note 6.) The undisguised hostility toward the Muslims in itself is not necessarily a sign of a Byzantine origin for the work; there was a very real cleavage between Christian Arabic tracts directed *adversus gentes* and the ecclesiastical literature in the native languages, not aimed at the Muslims. There also were, I suspect, great differences between various factions about the attitude to be adopted toward the conquerors; in fact, we seem to have here a production emanating from circles more 'hot-headed' than John of Damascus and his coterie.

⁸ P. 2, line 31.

⁹ τῷ θεοστένῳ βασιλεῖ Ρωμαίων (p. 2, 29); πρὸς τὸν θεοφιλέστατον καὶ εὐσεβέστατον βασιλέα (p. 3, 14-15); τὸν εὐμενέστατον καὶ εὐσηλαγχον αυτοκράτορα (p. 3, 17). The remark in the Bollandist edition that Leo 'religiosus imperator dicitur titulo non cadente in personam sed in regiam dignitatem' (p. 362, note c) quite misses the point. To argue that 'similiter alii scriptores Byzantini eum εὐσεβῆ appellat' is not at all cogent. Presumably, the editor is thinking of Theophanes' account: in fact, as we

be sure, no indication when the original was written; if one disregards the *ὁ τῆς δόξας μνήμης*, it may well be that the account was written immediately after the actual martyrdom, i.e., before 726. Thus one could argue that at the time the original was written Leo was not yet known to be an iconoclast. However, John, judging from the colophon, certainly appears to have been innocent of wordly knowledge; it is not at all necessary that «sitting in his humble cell» he would have known who ruled at the moment in Constantinople. It is more probable, I think, that the translator is not adding anything; just as he translated slavishly «Abd al-Malik» with *Ἀνακτόδουλος*, so *ὁ τῆς δόξας μνήμης Λέων* corresponds perhaps to an original Syriac «d'uhdanā dhasyuthā Lewōn», or suchlike.¹⁰

We then have here a text, originally written in Syriac, in a Palestinian milieu, which presents the emperor Leo as a past pious ruler of all Christians, and which manifests undisguised hatred for the Arab tyrants. The work is «disloyal» in every sense, and the author would have shared, predictably, the fate of his sixty-odd heroes if the work had come to the attention of the Muslim governor.¹¹ It seems that here we have a monument of a brand of eighth-century Palestinian Christianity, very different from that of John of Damascus; the particular group of Christians to which the author belonged¹²

have seen (ch. IV, n. 8), this *εὐσεβείας* is a tell-tale sign of imperfect doctoring of an iconoclastic source.

¹⁰ Cf. *ὁ ἁγίου τῆς δόξας μνήμης* (PO 12 [1918], 277, 8, i.e., «Timothy of saintly memory», lit. «of remembrance of holiness»). For some other possibilities see M.-A. Kugener, «Remarques sur les traductions syriaques des formules grecques 'Ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας μνήμης', et 'ὁ τῆς δόξας μνήμης'», ROC 5 (1900), pp. 158-9.

¹¹ The Syriac original was apparently anonymous. Perhaps the ascription of the long version to Symeon τοῦ ἁγίου σπηλαίου τοῦ Τεσσαρακονθήμερου is secondary, or Symeon is a *nom de plume*. The long recension is quite definitely of Palestinian provenance; it calls Byzantium τὰ τῶν Γραικῶν μέρη (p. 141, 13; 5), and the pilgrims παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ... κατὰ σκοποὶς ... τῆς ἡμετέρας ... γῆς (142, 23-24). However, if we have argued correctly, that this text comes from the twelfth or thirteenth century (see note 13), it could well have been written in a Christian-ruled portion of Palestine; in this case the motive of prudence would not have been operative.

¹² There is no evidence in the text for overt christological heresy; the confession put into the mouth of the martyrs (p. 5) restricts itself to a simple avowal of the Trinitarian faith, and does not mention the problem of the two natures. (Τὴν εἰς πατέρα φανέν καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα προσκύνησιν ὁρῶμεν, τὴν ὁμοούσιον τριάδα σέβουμεν, τὴν ἐν τρισὶ ... μίαν θεότητα.) We have seen the uniformly «Chalcedonian» reputation of Leo in the non-Byzantine sources; it is most likely that the pro-Leonine author of this work was in fact a Melkite.

did not meekly accept the status of «dhimmis», but, rather, loathing the Arabs, looking to Byzantium and the emperor for deliverance.¹³ Whether or not these Christians heard about the iconoclastic troubles, it does not seem that the reports induced them to accept the *status quo*. This hagiographic text shows that if Leo's and Constantine's armies had reached the Holy City, they would have readily found there a fifth column to welcome them as «orthodox» liberators.

The second group of texts of interest are Byzantine accounts of a miracle worked by an icon of the Virgin during the siege of 717. There is a longer version in the synaxarium published by Delehaye.¹⁴ A similar account, also taken from a synaxarium, was published earlier by Lampros;¹⁵ this has some interesting additions, but the text is more corrupt than that in Delehaye's edition. A second, much shorter version is found in the *Menologium Basilii*; it is obviously based on a longer text, much like the ones previously mentioned. Here, we shall first discuss the long version, and then briefly compare with it the

¹³ The attitude shown by the narrative of Symeon is very different. This writer, who had access to the *Vita Stephani*, was much more *au courant* than John on what constituted orthodoxy. Rather than calling Leo «of blessed memory» the narrative proper begins with *Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου, τοῦ ἀσεβῶς βασιλεύσαντος καὶ κατὰ τῶν θεῶν εἰκότων δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβείας λυτῶντος, τοῦ τὸν Κοιρῶνιμον Κωνσταντῖνον γέννησαντος* (p. 137, 14-17). Some other descriptive phrases: *ὁ θηριώνυμος κύων ἐπὶ τὰ ἅγια, ὁ νεὸς οὗτος Βαλδάρ, ὃς εἶπε καὶ Μωάμεθ* (pp. 138-139). Since the text calls Leo *ὁ Ἰσαυρος*, this already may indicate that the present redaction is later than the 8th century (cf. pp. 5-6). Also, according to this version, the governor in Caesarea writes for instructions πρὸς τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀρχηγόν (p. 142, 33 - 143, 1); in the shorter text, the governor condemns the saints to death without approval of higher authority (p. 5). Neither in the eighth century nor in the ninth century did Palestine depend administratively on an Egyptian viceroy; it seems that the author of the long version anachronistically retrojects the situation of eleventh or twelfth century Muslim Palestine under Egyptian Fatimid or Ayyūbid domination into an earlier period. Though both the lost Syriac original and the Greek translation of the short version come quite possibly from the eighth century, a much later date, it seems, should thus be assigned to Symeon's work. Loparev (V.V. 19 [1921], p. 3), notes the late date of the «Caesarean» recension.

¹⁴ *Synax*, CP, col. 901-904. Strangely enough, this notice occurs on August 16; the text itself makes clear that the event is associated with August 15 (904, 18-21). In the *Menologium Basilii* and the text published by Lampros, the account is properly put on August 15.

¹⁵ Σ. II. Ἀδάμπος (S. P. Lampros), *Ἱστορικὰ Μελετήματα* (Athens, 1884), pp. 142-144. Cf. Krumbacher, GBL, p. 712. Lampros' edition is based on a single MS, *Cod. Vindob. hist. gr.* 45, fol. 214-215.

notice in the *Menologium Basilii*.¹⁶ There is a brief reference to the miracle in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Administrando Imperio*.¹⁷

The account starts in *medias res*, stating that the Arab hordes have come to besiege the city.¹⁸ However, then a brief description is given of the rise of Islam and its early victories.¹⁹ The siege of Constan-

¹⁶ PG 117, 586D. In *Par. gr.* 1587, there is a short account, appertaining to August 16, which falls half-way between the longer version and the entry in the *Menologium* (under siglum D, this text is printed in *Synax. CP.*, 895-898 [note]). There are doubtless additional, slightly different versions in other synaxaria. R. Guiland, in his article on Maslama's expedition (*Al-Machriq* 49 [1955], 89-112), does not seem to be aware of these hagiographic accounts.

¹⁷ See note 27.

¹⁸ 'Εν ἀρχῇ γὰρ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου, <τοῦ> καὶ Κόνωνος, ἀνῆλθε πλῆθος Σαρακηνῶν ... πολιορκῆσαι αὐτήν. (*Synax. CP.* 901, 33-902, 4.) Lampros' text adds that the Saracens were motivated by a missionary zeal, so to speak, not only love of plunder. βουλόμενοι πολιορκῆσαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν αὐτήν καὶ τὴν πίστιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῶν πλάνην μεταποιῆσαι. (p. 142).

¹⁹ Both the *Synax. CP* and Lampros' text (*L*) count India among the lands gained by the Arabs prior to the siege of Constantinople. It would seem that these accounts, in their present form, cannot antedate the tenth or eleventh century; though some frontier provinces did come under the rule of the caliphate in the eighth century (B. Spuler, *Geschichte der Islamischen Länder* [Leiden, 1952], Karte 3), this expansion hardly ranks with the conquest of Persia, Spain or North Africa. If, however, 'Ἰνδία ἐνδοτέρα, i.e. Ethiopia (cf. e.g., Theophanes, I, 223, 11) is meant, such a late dating is not called for. (Ethiopia proper in fact resisted serious Muslim inroads during the early Islamic centuries; but by a Byzantine hagiographer it could well be regarded as Muslim territory.) *L* has some curiously muddled preliminary remarks before giving the details of the Arab *Blitzkrieg*. It says: ὅπου μαρὸν ἔθνος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχήθεν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πολλοῖς ἔθνεσι κατέμειρεν ἑαυτὸ καὶ οὐδέποτε ἄφετον δουλείας ἐγένετο, ἐκφεύγοντες τὸ τῆς δουλικῆς ὀνομασίας ὄνειδος. Τὴν μοναρχίαν δὲ διδάσκονται ὑπὸ τινος ψευδαμβᾶ Ἀραβανοῦ ... Τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν Βαλαάμ στολίσαντες καὶ μύροις· εὐάδεσι καὶ κρόκῳ διανθίσαντες πρότερον τοῖς τῆς Φοινίκης νέοις ἐπισηνῆσαν ... (The conquests of Persia, Egypt, Lybia follow.) The last comment, about the intrigues of the decked-out Bedouin beauties, «in the fashion of Balaam» with the youths of Phoenicia is interesting; it is a clear reference to the apocryphal story that the prophet Balaam advised the Moabite king Balak to divert the Israelites from their warlike intent by the stratagem of sending delectable maidens into their ranks. This fanciful elaboration of Numbers 25:1 was incorporated into the Byzantine exegetical tradition: it occurs in the Greek *Palea* (ed. Af. Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* [Moscow, 1893], pp. 253-56), and Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* (ed. G. Kisch [Notre Dame, 1949], pp. 181-62). The reference to the Arian monk is obviously an echo of the Bahirā legend (cf. Graf, *GCAL*, II, 146) and Muhammad's supposed heretical preceptura. (Lampros wrongly emends ψευδαμβᾶ to ψευδαββᾶ; the text, in fact, gives the common Christian Arabic title *amba*, used for priests and monks. See G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini*, CSCO Subs. 8 [Louvain, 1954], p. 14.) The *Synax. CP* says that many Christians

tinople is presented as the culmination of the Arab quest for world domination. The text gives an interesting sequence of events.²⁰ Leo was ready to give tribute.²¹ The troops of the Arabs were encompassing the city. A mounted Arab, who blasphemously called the city simply *Κωνσταντία*, and its great church *Σοφία*, received his due punishment by falling, *ὅν τῷ ἱππῷ*, into a ditch.²² The muezzin, who, in the absence of a minaret, climbed up into a high tree «to sound forth their loathsome prayer» also fell down from his lofty seat and was appropriately squashed.²³ The Bulgarians attacked, causing heavy losses. But the siege continued; a number of noteworthy details are given.²⁴ Finally, when it became apparent that the siege would not succeed, the Arabs were ready to withdraw. Sulaymān, ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν, requested permission to go into the city and view

were martyred διὰ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν τίμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σταυρὸν [διὰ τὸ μὴ παθεῖναι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ σημεῖον ... τοῦ ... τιμίου σταυροῦ *L*].

²⁰ Again, as in the case of the *Passio* of the Sixty Martyrs, a detailed comparison of the account of the siege with the Byzantine and Arabic chroniclers is not our aim; this ought to have been done in Guiland's supposedly complete collation of the sources (see note 16).

²¹ Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Λέοντος προθεμένου δοῦναι αὐτοῖς πάντα (*Synax. CP.*, 902, 17). The *Menologium Basilii* has a like phrase: βουληθέντος δοῦναι αὐτοῖς πάντα. *L* has the worse reading: δοῦναι αὐτοῖς πάντα [p. 143].

²² *Synax. CP.*, 902, 19-23; *H*, p. 143; *D*, *apud Synax. CP.*, 895-96, 52-54. In some Armenian accounts, also, the Arabs are presented as referring to the church simply as «Sop'ia» (see above, p. 134); the blasphemy involved in calling Constantinople *Κωνσταντία* is less obvious.

²³ Καὶ ὁ κήρυξ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τινος ὑψηλοῦ ξύλου ἀνελθὼν τοῦ κηρύττει τὴν μαρὰν αὐτῶν προσευχὴν, αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτὸς καταπεσὼν διεσκορπίσθη. Episodes like these could well represent the kind of stories that were current in the city during the siege, and which were perhaps even intentionally spread, on Leo's orders, to sustain the morale of the defenders.

²⁴ The topographic information (902, 29 ff) should be compared with Theophanes: The unsavory diet to which the Arabs were reduced, in dire straits of famine, is also given: ὡς σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ ἑρπετῶν καὶ μυῶν καὶ ζώων τεθνηκότων γεύσασθαι, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην κόπρον μετὰ βραχυτάτου φυράματος προσμάττοντες ἡσθιον (*Synax. CP.*, 903, 8-12). These matters are also lovingly dwelt upon by other writers who describe the siege. More significantly, the narrative says that the Arabs set up a pretender to the Byzantine throne; this is not claimed, to my knowledge, by any other source, Christian or Muslim. καὶ εὐρηκότες ἄνδρα ἐπὶ ἐγκλήμασι κατεγνωσμένον καὶ προσφυγόντα εἰς αὐτοὺς, ἀναγορεύουσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων, περιστήσαντες αὐτῷ κτλ (903, 15 ff).

²⁵ Καὶ Σουλαιμάν ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει αἰτήσας ἱστορίας χάριν (903, 22-23). This text does not even mention Maslama; perhaps the writer was under

its sights. However, when, permission granted, he wanted to enter by the Bosphorus gate, his horse reared and refused to go further.²⁶ Then — presumably after having brought his fiery steed under control — he looked up, and saw a mosaic of the Virgin with the Child.²⁷ He immediately realized that this mishap happened because he had blasphemed her.²⁸ At any rate, Sulaymān having made his sight-seeing tour,²⁹ the Saracens sailed home. In the Aegaeen Sea, a miracle the impression that the caliph Sulaymān personally led the besiegers. However, it is possible that the episode preserves authentic tradition about Sulaymān ibn Mu'ad, Maslama's lieutenant, who was in charge of the land operations. (On the whole question of *war* *Sulaymān*, see Canard, JA 208 [1926], pp. 91-92.) This passage may be pertinent evidence for negotiations undertaken by Maslama prior to withdrawal, and supports the statement in the *passio* of the Sixty Martyrs (see above, p. 316) that Leo made a seven-year treaty with the Arabs. The text in *De Administrando Imperio* (cf. note 27) clearly asserts that the *Σουλειμάν* in question was the caliph, not a mere general (ed. Gy. Moravcsik, p. 92, l. 114-116).

²⁶ καὶ λαβὼν λόγον ἔρχεται ἔφιππος εἰς τὸ Βοσπόριον. [τὸ Βοσπόριον L] καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ εἰσελθόντων ἀβλαβῶς τὴν πόρταν, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἠδυνάτο εἰσελθεῖν, τοῦ ἵππου ὀρθοβολοῦντος καὶ τοῦ πύδας ὑφ' οὐντος (903, 21-28). It is not clear to which gate of the sea walls τὸ Βοσπόριον refers. The *Menologium Basilii* calls the gate ἡ τοῦ Βοσπορίου πόρτη.

²⁷ ἀναβλέψας ὅρῃ ὑπέρθεν τῆς πόρτης ἱστορημένην διὰ ψηφίδων τὴν δέσποιναν ἡμῶν τὴν ὑπεράγιαν Θεοτόκον · καθελζομένην ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ βαστάζουσαν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτῆς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (903, 29 - 904, 1). The brief entry in the *De Administrando Imperio* (ed. G. Moravcsik, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio*, ed. 2, [Washington, 1967], p. 92, lines 123-26) clearly depends on the material from the *synaxaria* (Καὶ εἰρήνευσεν ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτεία ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον, στρατηγούσης καὶ περιποιούσης τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν καὶ παρθένου Μαρίας τῆς Θεοτόκου τῇδε τὴν πόλιν, ἥς καὶ τὴν ἀχραντὸν καὶ ἀγίαν εἰκόνα καὶ αὐτὸς <δ> Σουλειμάν ἡδέσθη καὶ ἐνερπάτη καὶ τοῦ ἵππου κατέσεν). The treatise was written sometime between 948 and 952 (op. cit., p. 11.) B. Lewis' identification of this image with the famous Hodegetria (in *Constantine Porphyrogenitus; De Administrando Imperio*, Vol. II). Commentary (ed. R. J. H. Jenkins) (London, 1962), p. 78 has no foundation.

²⁸ καταγνὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ βλασφημίας, ἥς ἀβλασφήμησε (904, 3-4). In *D*, the particular icon over the gate is not mentioned: Sulaymān worshipped an image and went into the city on foot. Σουλειμάν δὲ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν καὶ αἰδεσθῆναι τὴν ἀχραντὸν αὐτῆς εἰκόνα πεπλήκει καὶ πεζὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσελθεῖν παρεσκεύασεν καὶ τῆς προπετίας καὶ αὐθαδείας αὐτοῦ καταγνῶναι (*Synax. CP*, 895-96, 58-60). This seems to represent an editorial abbreviation of a longer account, rather than a simpler early version. This text also presents the Theotokos as harkening to the prayers of the besieged, and attributes the tumble of the mounted Arab into a ditch to her personal agency (61-64).

²⁹ καὶ αὐτίκα τοῦ ἵππου ἀνοβὲς πεζὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσῆλθε (904, 1-2). This miracle was then obviously of very minor order, of even less consequence than the muezzin falling out of the tree. In the account of the *Menologium Basilii*, by contrast, it represents the turn of the tide; having thus been made to realize the might of the Theotokos, the Arab chieftain and his cohorts all turn back, and the city is saved.

culous fiery hailstorm surprised them, and almost completely destroyed the fleet. Only ten ships reached Syria safely.³⁰ The narrative concludes with a doxology of the Divinity and the Theotokos.³¹

The short version in the *Menologium Basilii* telescopes the story and makes the miracle of Sulaymān's rearing horse the central event. Leo was ready to give tribute; the Arabs wanted to establish a garrison in the city.³² When their chief was also about to go through the Bosphorus gate,³³ his horse reared and refused to budge. The Saracen looked up, saw the image, and realized this was a punishment for

³⁰ Comparison of the account of the destruction of the fleet (904, 4-18) with Theophanes (I, 399, 6-19) shows indubitable literary dependence. However, it is not at all certain that the *synaxaria* merely follow the chronicler; the rest of the details given about the siege, as we saw, differ materially from Theophanes' account. In Theophanes, the dispersion of the fleet is explicitly attributed to the intercessions of the Virgin. (I, 399, 8-9, διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς θεομήτορος ἐνοκῆφας εἰς αὐτοὺς τοὺς διεσκόρπισεν. It seems very likely that both Theophanes and the late versions in the *synaxaria* depend on an early *synaxis* for August 15, which did describe the miraculous destruction of the fleet in the Aegaeen Sea. The shorter parallel account in Nicephorus shows no verbal similarities and does not note any miraculous agency (*Breviarium*, ed. de Boor, 55, 14-19). Apparently, in *D*, the mention of the storm is lacking (*Synax. CP*, 897-98; 45). The story of the destruction of the fleet could be of iconoclastic origin; this miracle does not involve images, and may well have been used in iconoclastic liturgical commemorations of the siege. The story of Sulaymān and the icon of the Bosphorus gate is obviously of iconophile provenance. *D* represents an edited version of this latter story; in the main text of the *Synax. CP*, and *L* the two originally separate accounts have already been welded together. The text in *De Administrando Imperio* (cf. note 27) provides a *terminus ante quem* of 948-952 for the written fixation of the miracle.

³¹ *Synax. CP*, 904, 22-27. This conclusion, which naturally follows upon the destruction of the Muslim fleet, does not mention the Bosphorus gate image, and could be, again, of iconoclastic provenance. The simple conflation of two verses from Ps. 76 with the praise of the Virgin's aid presents no conflict with what is otherwise known about early iconoclastic ideology. The conclusion also mentions that the siege started and ended on August 15 (904, 18-22); the same dates are given in Theophanes (395, 18; 399, 6). Nicephorus bears out the August 15 date for the lifting of the siege (*Breviarium*, 55, 13), but does not give the date of its commencement. Perhaps Theophanes again is depending on a hagiographic source, which, to emphasize the power of the Theotokos, made not only the end, but the beginning of the siege fall on the day of the Κοίμησις. At any rate, it would seem to be hard to judge the exact commencement of a long blockade; the ending of the siege, especially if signalled by an official peace treaty, can be more easily specified.

³² Ἰδόντες δὲ τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ βασιλέως, βουλευθέντες δοῦναι αὐτοῖς πάκτα, αὐτοὶ καὶ φύλακας ἔλεγον ἐγκαταστήσαι τῇ πόλει. (PG 117, 585D).

³³ Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνέει, καὶ εἰσελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Βοσπορίου πόρτης ἔφιππος.

his blasphemy. Thereupon, all the Saracens turned back,³⁴ set sail for home, and were destroyed by the storm in the Aegæan. No mention is made of the length of the siege, the various maneuvers, or the frightful famine in the Arab army. In this version, it is the image which, so to speak, single-handedly turns back the great attack. As we saw, none of the longer versions make this claim: there, the image only accomplishes the lesser feat of making Sulaymān enter on foot when making his sightseeing tour. The literary dependence of this summary on such an earlier, longer version is, however, quite obvious; it is merely a case of selective abbreviation and editing, which introduces a new emphasis into the narrative.

A lengthy historical preface in the old Latin translation of the Akathistos hymn³⁵ recounts the entrance of the suppliant Arab chief «Musilimim» to the city.³⁶ Although a miraculous image is not mentioned, and the foe is directly vanquished by the Virgin³⁷ and heavenly hosts, the iconophile provenance of the Greek original of the text is clear. The glorious victory is simply put into the reign of Theodosius, Leo's pious predecessor. The defeat of the Arabs then abruptly continues with Leo's maltreatment of the iconophile Germanus. I think that in the first part we may again have Leo replaced by Theodosius, and instead is charged with the cruel persecution

³⁴ Λοιπὸν οὖν ὑπέστρεψαν ἄπρακτοι.

³⁵ Ed. M. Huglo, «L'ancienne version latine de l'hymne acathiste», *Le Muséon* 64, (1951), pp. 33-34. According to the convincing arguments of the editor, the prologue was composed prior to 802-806 — at any rate not much later than the beginning of the ninth century (*op. cit.*, pp. 48-51). For another edition (which will be cited here), based on more MSS, see G. G. Meersseman, *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland* (Freiburg, 1958), pp. 101-103.

³⁶ «Unde factum est ut divinum confessus miraculum, idem Musilimim [var. Musilinum, Musilimin, Musilim etc.] precibus, cum mille viris tantum, civitatem ingrediendi sibi permissionem obtinuerit, neonon multis oblati muneribus, adorato quoque Domino et sanota Genitrice ejus foederis dexteras dederit, seseque in propriis retulit (*op. cit.*, p. 102).

³⁷ Huglo sees in the reference to the *pallium* of the Virgin a possible allusion to the famous *maphorion* kept in the church of the Blachernae (p. 47). It should be noted that this account makes no direct reference to a storm in which the Arab fleet was destroyed.

³⁸ «In diebus Theodosii predecessoris Leonis, patris scilicet Constantini qui prenomatus est Cavallinus...» (p. 102).

and murder of Germanus,³⁸ to whom the title attributes the composition of the hymn. The first part, in an earlier form which still placed the siege during the reign of Leo, may have provided material for the Sulaymān story as we now have it in the Synaxaria.⁴⁰

A second text related to the Akathistos hymn, namely, the synaxarion read on Saturday of the fifth week of Lent provides another component of the story we are dealing with. This narrative of the triple defense of the city by the Virgin, which includes an account of the siege of 717, is extant in two versions. The miracle of Sulaymān and the image of the Bosphorus gate is lacking in both recensions. In the short version⁴¹ the blockade of the city, the Bulgarian attack, and the Arab shipwreck are recounted. The noteworthy thing is that the besieged have recourse to processions, in which they carry both the relic of the True Cross and the *Hodegetria* image.⁴² In the longer

³⁹ «... Germanum... quia illi in reverendarum imaginum confractioe consensus non prebuit... sede in quamdam diaconiam quam grece nomine proprio Istabiru appellatur, crudeliter populi ibique eum dolo pro dolor interfici fecit.» (p. 103). For a 7th-century seal of the diaconia τῶν Βήρου see V. Laurent, *Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin* V, 2 (Paris, 1965), p. 141: *Διακονίας τῶν Βήρου* [recte τῶν Βήρου]. Thus Meersseman's scepticism concerning the existence of this locality, and his objections to Huglo's retroversion of *Istabiru* as *Εἰς τὰ Βήρου* (*op. cit.*, pp. 42-43) are unwarranted. Moreover, in view of the ample literary and sigillographic attestation, from the 6th century onward, for the charitable institution of *διακονία* (Laurent, pp. 125 ff) it is surprising that Meersseman insists on interpreting *διακονία* as «regional church» or «cloister» (p. 42), and that he opts for a rather improbable *εἰς τὰ Βαρίου* — i.e. Germanus was banished to Bari, in Italy!! (p. 43).

⁴⁰ Huglo identifies the Arab chief as Maslama; he sees the «Musilimim» of the MSS as a corruption of «Maslama», which would in turn reflect a Greek orthography *Μουσαλμῆ* (p. 45). Huglo then sees this story as a Byzantine witness to the Arab stories of Maslama's entrance into Constantinople (p. 47). However Musulimim is called *rex Saracenorum* which corresponds to a Greek ἀρχηγός τῶν Σαρακηνῶν (cf. *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Moravcsik, p. 92, l. 115); a mere general, as Maslama was never given this title in the Greek sources. I would suggest that the Arab leader's name was in fact Σουλεϊμάν in the Greek text, and that the «Musilimim» or «Musulimum» of the Latin MSS is a result of scribal harmonization of this unfamiliar proper name *Suliman* with the appellation *musulmanus* or *suchlike*.

⁴¹ This is the version currently used in the Orthodox service; see *Τριῳδίου κατανυκτικῶν ... τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης τεσσαρακώστης* (Athens, 1960), pp. 302-3. We shall cite the text according to N. Nilles' annotated edition, *Kalendarium manuale*, vol. 2 (Innsbruck, 1897), pp. 157-166.

⁴² Ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἱερὸς λαὸς τὸ σεπτὸν ξύλον τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ τὴν σεβάσμιον εἰκόνα τῆς Θεομήτορος ὁδηγητρίας ἐπαγόμενοι, τὸ τεῖχος περιεκύκλουν σὺν δάκρυσι τὸν Θεὸν ἀεούμενοι. (ed. Nilles, pp. 163-4). If one accepts the accuracy of the

version⁴³ no explicit mention of the *Hodegetria* is made;⁴⁴ but the episodes of the fall of the Arab horseman and the demise of the muezzin that we have in the *Synax. CP* are both told.⁴⁵ The exact date of composition for either version is not clear; but this synaxarion seems to have been one of the sources for the tenth-century version in the *Synax. CP*.⁴⁶

It seems to be quite certain that August 15 was very quickly accepted as the traditional date for the deliverance of the city. It is also very likely that already in Leo's reign, and throughout the reigns of the other iconoclastic rulers, the commemoration of the event was celebrated on this day. We have argued earlier that the last part of the narrative, the destruction of the fleet in the Aegaeon, may in fact be a remnant of an iconoclastic *synaxis*. The first part, the miracle of the image itself, is however almost a direct counterblast to any iconoclastic version of the siege: Leo plays a minor and inglorious role; when he is ready to surrender, the city is saved by supernatural help in various forms. That this supernatural influence is indeed itself, so to speak, iconophile, is manifested through the fact that the Saracen chief is humbled by means of the *icon* over the Bosphorus gate. I suspect that this narrative in fact replaces a story of iconoclastic stamp, in which the emperor Leo plays the major part, and is depicted as the minion of the Divinity. Perhaps the « naval miracles

account, the this is the first recorded appearance of the famous icon. (Cf. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin* I, 3 (Paris, 1953), p. 209.) In fact, an early seal of Leo III (shown alone, ergo the seal is prior to 720), has an image of the Virgin of the « Hodegetria » type (N. Lihačev, « Sceaux de l'empereur Léon III l'Isaurien » Byz II (1936), p. 473). This may be additional indication for the connection of the Hodegetria icon with the victory of 717. Does the seal attest then Leo's temporary belief that this particular image helped him in the hour of distress? (Perhaps, as Lihačev suggests, this iconography represents a departure from the *Nikopoios* iconography of the seals of the Heraclian dynasty (p. 475).)

⁴³ PG 92, 1348-1371 (*Editio princeps*, F. Combefis, *Historia haeresis monothelitarum* (Paris, 1648), 805-816).

⁴⁴ 'Ο δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν φιλόχριστος λαός, ... τὸ δὲ πάνσοπον ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λάβοντες, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα τῆς παραγίου Παρθένου, περιήσαν τὸ τεῖχος ... (PG 92, 1365BC).

⁴⁵ PG 92, 1365CD.

⁴⁶ M. Théarvic reasons, most probably rightly, that the lack of mention of a Russian siege puts the composition prior to 860 (« Photius et l'Acathiste », EO 7 [1904], p. 299). Théarvic's further tentative arguments for putting it precisely in the period 820-23 are much less convincing (*ibid.*).

in the Armenian chronicles, where Leo, as a Moses *redivivus*, destroys the fleet of the attackers, is, in fact, taken from such a lost iconoclastic *synaxis* for August 15.⁴⁷ Leo, with divine help, brings about a failure of both the land and sea attacks; the Arab host, already reduced by famine and the plague, sails home and is given the finishing blow by the miraculous storm, brought about by the agency of the Theotokos. Such may have been the iconoclastic *ἱερός λόγος* which was replaced by the story of the icon and Sulaymān's rearing horse.

C

BESER AND TESSARACONTAPECHYS

We shall first briefly recapitulate the problem posed by the appearance of these figures in the iconophile accounts of the origins of iconoclasm. The *adversus Constantinum Caballinum* makes Leo encounter a Jewish soothsayer, as yet nameless, who advises Leo to discard his name Canon, and who promises him a long reign if he will turn iconoclast.¹ The evil genius of Yazid II, a Jewish magician, is called Tesseracontapechys or Serantapechos in the *Narratio* of 787.² In the corresponding version of Yazid's iconoclasm, as given by Theophanes, the Jew does not have a name; however, Theophanes mentions that one Beser,³ a Syrian freedman, was the confidant of Leo, and his assistant in the iconoclastic campaign. Various combinations of these accounts have been proposed by previous investigators, who have manifested differing amounts of skepticism and ingenuity vis-à-vis

⁴⁷ Cf. Appendix 1A, note 34.

¹ PG 95, 336CD.

² Τεσσαρακοντάπηχης Mansi XIII, 197B; Σεραντάπηχος ed. Bonn, p. 482, 16; as we noted earlier, this latter text is taken from *Par. gr.* 1115 (the name occurs on fol. 281r). See below (note 17) on the orthography of this word.

³ Βήσιρ Theophanes I, 402, 10. One MS (*f*) gives the variant Βασίρ. B. Hemmerdinger suggests that « la leçon BACHP ne remonte pas à l'auteur lui-même mais à un lecteur arabisant ». (« BHCHP, BZ 56 [1963], p. 6.) Though, of course, it is true that the corresponding Arabic name can be vocalized as Bišr or as Bašir, Hemmerdinger does not note that where the name occurs elsewhere in Theophanes, MS *f* does not correct the reading Βήσιρ to Βασίρ. We may simply have a *lapsus calami* here rather than the emendation of some eagle-eyed arabisant. The original text of Theophanes most probably had Βήσιρ, a reading also attested by Anastasius' two transcriptions Bisir (II,

the sources. ⁴ We shall here take up again the problem of the historicity of Beser and Tessaracontapechys; the results of our previous source analyses will be utilized in the discussion. ⁵

First of all, there is no compelling reason to reject the historicity of Beser, Leo's aide-de-camp. He is mentioned by *both* chief Byzantine sources for the period, and there certainly is nothing improbable in Leo the Mar'asite favoring someone of great physical prowess, who perhaps hailed from his own Syrian homeland. ⁶ Though Theophanes' account of Beser's early Syrian captivity is somewhat cryptic, ⁷ both

260, 19) and Beser (II, 269, 9; 261, 21); though the first, Bisir, could actually correspond to *Bisip or *Bisip, there is no MS support for either. (But Nicephorus has *Bisipos*. See note 7.) For a discussion of the transcription of Arabic names in Theophanes, see J. Wellhausen, «Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern in der Zeit der Umayyaden», *Nachrichten von der königl. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1901, pp. 445-47. Of course, little trust can be given to the vocalization of Semitic words in Theophanes or Greek sources in general. For instance, the name of Yazid (يزيد) is variously given as 'Izid (variant 'Aizid) (Theophanes I, 401, 30), 'Izidos (Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, 54, 7); 'Iazid (Georgius Hamartolus, II, 736, 3); Zid (Σύνοψις Χρονική, ed. Sathas, p. 121, 26); 'Izid (Oedrenus, ed. Bonn, I, 488, 12, and Zonaras, ed. Bonn, III, 257, 19); 'Iazid (pseudo-ad Theophilum, PG 95, 356C), etc.

⁴ Beser historical, Tessaracontapechys legendary and the latter name, in fact, was Beser's nickname. (J. Starr, «An Iconodule Legend and its Historical Basis», *Speculum* 8 [1933], pp. 500-503); Beser legendary (Ostrogorsky, *Les débuts*, p. 236); Beser an iconophile invention, compounded from Leo III and John of Damascus (Hammerdinger, *art. cit.*). These hypotheses will be further discussed at the appropriate place.

⁵ See pp. 62 ff.

⁶ Beser's iconoclastic proclivities, whether or not they should be imputed to his Muslim past, certainly make the picture more credible; a favorite of Leo could hardly maintain his position without at least outwardly supporting the emperor's iconoclastic measures. It should be noted that Beser, unlike Tessaracontapechys of the *Narratio*, is not presented as the originator of the heresy, but merely seconds the emperor's designs. διὰ βόμην δὲ σώματος καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τῆς κακοδοξίας ἐτιμήθη παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λέοντος· ὅστις καὶ συνασπιστὴς τοῦ μεγάλου κακοῦ. τοῦτον γέγονε τῷ βασιλεῖ (I, 402, 13-16). Beser was only a kindred spirit to Leo, so to speak, but not the *fons malorum*, according to Theophanes. (εὐρὺν δὲ δὴ μόφρονά τῆς ἀπαυδενσίας ταύτης [I, 402, 9]; σύμμαχων ἔχων Βησὴρ τὸν ἀρησιόθεν ... [I, 405, 3]). Thus, even aside from his denial, in my opinion entirely unwarranted, of the historicity of Beser, Hammerdinger is wrong to claim that, in Theophanes, Beser is «l'inspirateur fictif de l'iconoclisme» (*art. cit.*, p. 7).

⁷ εὐρὺν ... Βησὴρ τινα τοῦνομα, γενόμενον μὲν ἀπὸ Χριστιανῶν αἰχμάλωτον ἐν Συρίᾳ, ἀποστάντα δὲ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ ποιωθέντα τοῖς Ἀράβων δόγμασι ... (I, 402, 9-12). This account could, in fact, be interpreted to mean that Beser was captured by the Arabs, and subsequently apostatized. He certainly was not captured by Christians, as Starr claims («even during his period of servitude under Christian captors he remained a faithful Mohammedan» [*art. cit.*, p. 502]). Beser was of Christian extraction (γενόμενος ...

he and Nicephorus attest that Beser fell in battle, defending the legitimate dynasty against the usurper Artavasdus. ⁸ The name Βησὴρ

ἀπὸ Χριστιανῶν), captured, by persons unknown, in Syria (αἰχμάλωτος ἐν Συρίᾳ), and then turned Muslim of his own accord (ἀποστὰς τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως). Presumably, he saw the light of the faith again as soon as he returned to Byzantine territory. Though the text of Theophanes does not claim that Beser was Syrian by birth, it is certainly not unlikely that a soldier stationed on the eastern *limes* of the empire would be of local extraction. Vasiliev quite wrongly claims that, according to Theophanes, Beser told Leo about Yazid's iconoclastic measures and that he was of-Syrian birth (*Edict*, p. 30). In fact, Theophanes does not make clear whence Leo learned about the Syrian happenings (μεταλαβὼν δὲ ταύτης τῆς πικρᾶς καὶ ἀθεμίτου κακοδοξίας Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλὰν κακὴν ἡμῖν αἰτία γέγονεν [I, 402, 7-9]). In Theophanes' chronicle, Leo makes Beser's acquaintance only afterwards. Theophanes also says that Beser's captivity did not last long. (οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου ἀπελευθερωθέντα τῆς ἐκείνων δουλείας καὶ καταλάβοντα τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν [I, 402, 12-13]). This is again a very credible detail; though embracing Islam did not confer *ipso facto* freedom on slaves (see article 'Abd in SEI), such a step would, of course, have facilitated manumission. A ḥadīṭ attributed to Muḥammad the saying: «He who sets free a Muslim slave, shall be freed from the fires of Hell.» (*art. cit.*, p. 3).

P. Alexander has already pointed out Starr's erroneous interpretation of the Beser passage (*Nicephorus*, p. 236). Incidentally, Starr claims that John «came from the eastern division of the Empire», a manifestly wrong deduction from *τοποτηρητῆς τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἀρχιερέων*. Vasiliev also misleadingly calls John «representative of the Anatolian bishops» (*Edict*, pp. 27-28); of course John had no connection with the clergy of Asia Minor («Anatolia» in modern English usage) but was a delegate from the Melkites of the Levant.

⁸ καὶ τὸν μὲν πατρίκιον Βησὴρ τὸν σαρακηνόφρονα προσηπαντήσαντα βόμφαιά ἀνείλεν (Theophanes, I, 414, 26-28). καὶ Βισήρον τὴν ἀξίαν πατρίκιον προσηπαντήσαντα καὶ τῷ ξίφει τῶν ἀντιπάλων πεσόντα αἰσθόμενος ... Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, ed. de Boor, p. 60, 3-5. The verbal correspondences between the two passages suggest common dependence on an (iconoclastic?) source. Theophanes has already replaced τὴν ἀξίαν πατρίκιον by τὸν ... πατρίκιον ... τὸν σαρακηνόφρονα and abbreviates the account of the battle. Cf. Uspenskij, *Očerki I*, p. 422. The spelling Βισήρος again well corresponds to Bīšr (-os is merely a Grecizing ending; cf., e.g., Armenian *Vardan* and *Barðānys* or *Smbat* and *Συμβάτιος*, etc.).

There is another incidental mention of Beser's name in Theophanes' chronicle. In giving a list of court dignitaries punished by Constantine V, Theophanes notes one Λαβίδ σπαθάριος κατὰ τὸν Βησὴρ καὶ κόμης τοῦ Ὀψικίου (I, 438, 12-13). In the same roster occurs Χρυστοφόρος ὁ κατὰ τὸν πατρίκιον Ἱμέριον σπαθάριος (438, 14-15). Therefore, it seems that σπαθάριος κατὰ τὸν Βησὴρ should be translated as «Beser's [former] spatharius»; of course, Beser himself fell earlier in battle against Artavasdus. The rank of spatharius was not incompatible, apparently, with that of theme commander; the Thracian *strategos* Theophylact was also a *πρωτοσπαθάριος* (438, 23-24). (Cf. R. Guillard, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, vol. 2 [Berlin, 1967], p. 100). The translation of Anastasius omits both of the qualifications κατὰ τὸν Βησὴρ and κατὰ τὸν πατρίκιον

does quite obviously reproduce the common Arabic name *Bišr*.⁹ There is no need to identify all *Βησῆρ*'s of the period; the usurper mentioned by Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus, who gave himself out to be the former emperor Tiberius II, in particular need not be connected with Leo's faithful lieutenant.¹⁰ Considering the fragmentary nature of information for the early iconoclastic period, the his-

Ἰμπεριον. Hemmerdinger argues that, therefore, «κατὰ τὸν ΒΗΧΡ... est visiblement interpolé» (*art. cit.*, p. 6). I rather tend to see, in this instance, an omission, on the part of Anastasius, not well-informed about Byzantine court ceremonial, of an obscure and unimportant phrase. It seems very unlikely that these epithets would, in fact, be later interpolations into the Greek text. There is no question here of contamination from another historical tradition as was the case with «Isaurian». Anastasius also translates *Θεοφύλακτος καυδιδάτος* «κατὰ τὸν Μαρωδίνην» (438, 16-17) as simply *Theophylactus candidatus*. All three «interpolations» are in the nature of technical information, and do not come under the rubric of «elaboration of legend» (cf. note 22, below). The *κατὰ τὸν Βησῆρ* is, in fact, an additional proof that Beser was not invented by Theophanes, as Hemmerdinger would have it. The precise significance of *κατὰ N. N.* in these instances does merit further investigation: In this passage *σπαθάριος* seems to have a purely ceremonial significance; perhaps *κατὰ N. N.* refers to the individual who performed the «investiture», much like in the ritual of western knights' initiations. In the earlier passage of Theophanes, where it is said that Justinian II made Leo *σπαθάριος* in recompense for the timely gift of live hundred sheep (I, 391, 10), the meaning, however, seems to be that Leo was actually made the emperor's personal bodyguard, *σπαθάριος stricto dicto*. (Incidentally, since *Βησῆρ* is not given a case ending in this phrase, as well as earlier (I, 405, 3; 414, 27), Theophanes clearly regarded it as a foreign name.)

⁹ See, for instance, B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadim* (New York and London, 1970), index s.v. *Bishr*.

¹⁰ Michael, ed. Chabot, IV, 462 (tr. II, 503); Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 119: Chabot vocalizes the name as *Beſer*, and Bedjan as *Baſir*; both vocalizations are, of course, merely conjectural, since the unpointed text in each case reads *ܒܝܫܪ*, *Bîr*. Theophanes gives the story of the impostor (I, 411, 2-8), but draws no connection between him and Beser. The Syrian tradition has simply preserved here an additional piece of information about this false Tiberius. This is understandable, since the events did take place in the Levant: Theophanes' information is, naturally, less direct and circumstantial than the story in Michael, a local chronicler. Michael the Syrian is not identifying the pretender with the patrician Beser, as Hemmerdinger claims (*art. cit.*, p. 7). There are two quite separate persons involved here, both of whom happened to be called *Bišr* and were Muslims, at least temporarily. The story of the pretender *Bîr* is also given, in substantially the same terms as in Michael, by the *Chronicon ad annum 1234* (ed. Chabot, pp. 311-312). In this text, the name is written as *Bîyr*, which should perhaps be vocalized as *Baſir* or *Bišir*. The *Liber Pontificalis* identifies the Italian pretender Petasius as (another?) false Tiberius (ed. Duchesne, I, 408); the pretender sponsored by the Sicilian strategos Sergius also took the name Tiberius (Theophanes I, 398, 11).

toricity of Beser is as well established as that of any other figure only known from the Byzantine chronicles.¹¹

A link has been made between Beser and the Jew Tessaracontapechys by using the fact that Leo's envoy to Maslama is called «a son of forty cubits» in the *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*.¹² However, there is no evidence

¹¹ Ostrogorsky disposes of Beser in a somewhat offhand manner: «Pour Théophane, l'empereur Léon III en est le principal auteur; l'évêque de Nacoleia n'est, à ses côtés, qu'un partisan des mêmes idées, et encore la figure, probablement légendaire, du renégat Beser le fait-il passer au second plan.»

Hemmerdinger claims that «BHCHP est un personnage fictif, résultant d'une synthèse inattendue entre le théoréticien du culte des images Mansûr (saint Jean Damascène) et l'empereur iconoclaste Léon III (717-741)» (*art. cit.*, p. 6). One can apply those same words to Hemmerdinger's suggestion which he himself uses, rightly, à propos Iorga's uninformed conjecture that *Βησῆρ* = «vizir»: «Cette interprétation est plus brillante que solide.» Hemmerdinger does not seem to know that Beser is mentioned in the *Breviarium* of Nicephorus, in terms which makes the identification with Theophanes' Beser quite certain. (See above, note 7.) This independent mention should alone establish, with as much certainty as can be gained from the Byzantine chronicles, the historical existence of Beser. Theophanes may well have overemphasized the role of Beser in the iconoclastic campaign; Beser is not mentioned in this connection by Nicephorus, and the renegade's Muslim past certainly could help Theophanes to demonstrate that all the image-breakers were «Saracen-minded». However, Hemmerdinger's suggestion that the very figure of Beser is a pastiche of Leo and John of Damascus is quite unacceptable.

¹² واجتمع الى مسلمة ذوو الرأي وقالوا هذا رجل داهية يعرف بابن اربعين ذراعاً ولعله ياتيكم باسم لم تقدم فيه الرؤية فلا تجبه (ed. de Goeje, pp. ٣٠١-٣٠٢). («And the wise ones met Maslama and said, this is a shrewd man, called the «son of forty cubits» and if he comes to you with a commission do not give him consideration and do not reply to him.) Brooks, in his translation of the passage, suggests that «son of forty cubits» corresponds to «Tessaracontapechys» (JHS 19 [1899], p. 26, n. 2). I think it is quite correct to see in «son of forty cubits» the translation of a Byzantine name; it is the idiomatic Arabic rendering of *Τεσσαράντηχος* or equivalent («son of» merely indicates possession of a quality). Certainly, to my knowledge, such a *laqab* does not occur otherwise in Arabic literature, or in Syriac, for that matter. The *Kitāb al-'Uyūn* here preserves the name of Leo's ambassador, not elsewhere attested. However, it is unjustified to connect the envoy with the magician of the *Narratio*; we shall presently show that *Τεσσαράντηχος* was a far from uncommon name among the Byzantines. Brooks seriously proposes that this envoy is the same as the Jew from Tiberias, and that the Byzantine aristocrat, Constantine Serantapechos was, thus, the latter's descendant! Starr (*art. cit.*, p. 501) agrees with this suggestion «in view of the fact that the name Tessaracontapechys is almost unique with John's tale» and then proceeds to identify the envoy with Beser; however, unlike Brooks, he does not accept the historicity of the Jew of the *Narratio*. I think we have to be satisfied with the fact that there are two separate historical individuals, one Leo's

whatsoever that Beser had this nickname. Theophanes does not mention that Beser participated in Leo's diplomatic maneuvers; in fact, Beser makes his appearance in Theophanes' narrative only several years after the siege of 717, and no connection of any sort is made between him and the Jewish soothsayer of the Yazid story.¹³ Beser may well have been one of Leo's key lieutenants in the iconoclastic campaign, but the identification of Beser with any other individual, Jewish magician or otherwise, called Tessaracontapechys, cannot be maintained.

We have argued earlier that the various stories of Jews suggesting to Yazid or Leo their iconoclastic measures are merely narrative elaborations of the stock charge of 'Ιουδαϊσμός.¹⁴ The appearance of the Jewish magician-soothsayer in particular is simply explicable by the reputation that the peregrinant Jews had as practitioners of occult lore, much like gypsies in more modern times.¹⁵ The name

envoy of 717, called Σεπάρταππος or Σεπάρταππος (perhaps an ancestor of Constantine Serantapechos), and the other the patrician Beser, who was probably still a Syrian captive in 717. The fictitious Jewish magician of the *Narratio* has nothing to do with either of these historical figures. We shall presently comment on the orthography of the name.

¹³ Vasiliev is also inclined to identify [Beser] with the Tessaracontapechys in John's report (*Edict*, p. 31) but does not provide any reasons to support his conjecture. Though Vasiliev does opt for Beser's historicity, he does not seem to be aware that Nicephorus mentions Beser in the *Breviarum* (*ibid.*).

¹⁴ See above, pp. 60 ff.

¹⁵ The Jews did not exclusively restrict the employment of their praeternatural talents to procuring the destruction of images. According to pseudo-Symeon Magister, Photius was endowed with a mastery of classical learning, by the magic arts of a Jew, in return for having denied the cross of the Savior. The words used by the Hebraic miscreant are reminiscent of those used by his predecessor in the Yazid story. « οὐ χρήζω χρήματα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα σου γνῶναι τὸ δῶμα · ἀλλ' ἔλθε μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὸνδε τὸν τόπον, καὶ ἀρνησάμενος τὸν τύπον ἐν ᾧ Ἰησοῦν προσηλώσαμεν, καὶ δώσω σοι παράδοξον φυλακτόν, καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωὴ σου πᾶσα ἐν εὐημερίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ πολλῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ χαρῇ ». (ed. Bonn, p. 870). On this story, cf. J. Gouillard, « Le Photius du Pseudo-Symeon Magistros : Les sous-entendus d'un pamphlet » *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 9 (1971), p. 401. According to Tabari, a Jew predicted a forty-year reign to Yazid, without the proviso of iconoclasm; the Muslim chronicler does not elaborate on the reward expected by the soothsayer (ed. de Goeje, Ser. 2, p. 1, § 73, l. 19 · p. 1, § 74, l. 1). This *topos* of uncanny *ex eventu* prophecies made gifted or successful individuals occurs too often in the medieval literature to be taken seriously in the Leo-Yazid story. For a list of the various prophecies and omens which foretold the supreme dignity to future emperors, see R. Guillard, *Études byzantines* (Paris, 1959), pp. 225-232. Naturally, unsuccessful predictions did not get to be recorded by the chroniclers.

Paul Alexander proposes that both the Conon stories and the Tessaracontapechys

bestowed on the Jew is of more interest. He is called Τεσσαρακοντάπηγος¹⁶ in the Greek text of the *Narratio* as extant in the Council proceedings; however, the text in *Par. gr.* 1115 (edited by Combes) reads Σεπάρταππος; the old Latin translation of the *Acta*, as preserved by the Paris Council of 825, had *Serantapicus*,¹⁷ which transparently reproduces Σεπάρταππος. The longer form Τεσσαρακοντάπηγος only occurs in the Greek *Acta* of 787, and *Haeresis* 102 *aucta*, which is textually dependent on the *Narratio*.¹⁸ I think that the name originally was Σεπάρταππος in the text of the *Narratio* as read at the Council of 787, but was very soon changed to the longer form. John's special reason, if any, for calling the Jewish soothsayer

account to go back to a (lost) apocalyptic tradition of a Hebrew prophet and a wicked king (*Nicephorus*, p. 234). We have already commented on the imprecise employment of the term « apocalyptic » (see note 220 in the text); moreover, there is no need to assume a literary source for the recurrent stories of Jewish soothsayers and magicians. We have earlier attempted to show that the Conon episode in the *adversus Constantinum*, and the Yazid story of the *Narratio* represent two independent products of popular anti-Jewish feeling, rather than being derived from a common « apocalyptic » text (pp. 70-72). Biblical accounts of (wicked) Hebrew prophet and wicked king (e.g., 2 Chronicles 18:19-34) have little in common with these legends.

¹⁶ Mansi XIII, 197B. The name literally means « forty cubits [high] ». Since a πήγος is about eighteen inches, therefore, as applied to a human being, the word obviously means « tall as a cedar » or such-like. *Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis...* (In Evagrius' account of Symeon the Stylite, the short pillars on which the saint dwelt in his youth (ἐν ... κίονι βραχυτέροις) are contrasted with the « 40-cubit » column of his later period ἐν τῷ τεσσαρακοντάπηγῳ ἑστῇ τριάκοντα; ed. Bidez-Parmentier 22, 27-8). In this passage, τεσσαρακοντάπηγος seems to mean merely « very tall »; the writer does not want to claim, I think, that the saint's στήλος was exactly sixty feet high).

¹⁷ For reference, see ch. VII, n. 83. Anastasius' translation, as printed in Mansi XIII, 198B, gives *Sarantapechys*. Though both the *Acta* of 825 and Anastasius attest a short form, Anastasius' spelling is usually more trustworthy; e.g., the *Acta* of 825 render ἐν τῇ Τιβηριάδι by in *Beriade* (p. 519), whereas Anastasius gives the more correct spelling, *Tiberiade*. Anastasius' *Sarantapechys* clearly stands for Σεπάρταππος. At any rate, the spelling Σεπάρταππος is attested by *Par. gr.* 1115 whereas the form Σεπάρταππος is not. The witness of the Latin versions shows that the Σεπάρταππος of *Par. gr.* 1115 is not merely a late scribal correction of the long form of the name to conform to a more familiar spelling. The name was originally compounded with the short form σεπάρτα, formed by haplology from τεσσαράκοντα (see S. B. Psautes, *Grammatik der byz. Chroniken* [Göttingen, 1913], p. 107).

¹⁸ See p. 68. The name τεσσαρακοντάπηγος borne, according to Genesius (ed. Bonn, 48, 4), by the Arab chieftain Babel may be a classicizing correction of the common Σεπάρταππος. As Starr points out (*art. cit.*, p. 501), this passage and one in Skylitzes (PG 122, 472) are the only occurrences of this form as a proper name in Byzantine literature.

of Tiberias by this name can no longer be divined; but, definitely, he was the one responsible for this particular rounding out of the legend; in the earlier and parallel independent versions (Theophanes, etc.), the Jew or Jews are not named. However, *Σεραντάπηχος* was a name borne by several aristocrats of the period; in particular the empress Irene's relative, the patrician Constantine, had this nickname.¹⁹ The word may have had the connotation of, say, « six-footer » or « beanpole ». This name was quite innocently given to the magician by John, but recently arrived from Syria. Subsequently, when he came to revise the text, he had already realized the *faux pas* of calling his foul creation by the same name as that borne by some influential contemporaries; thereupon, he corrected it to the different and more classical form *Τεσσαρακοντάπηχος*.²⁰ This artificial name is, indeed,

¹⁹ Theophanes I, 474, 3 ... πρὸς τὸν πατρίκιον Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Σεραντάπηχον. One of the conspirators who dethroned Irene in favor of Nicephorus was *Ἀέων πατρίκιος ὁ Σεραντάπηχος* (476, 9-10). MS d and another MS noted by Bury (BZ 14 [1905], p. 612), have *Σαραντάπηχος*; this seems to be a correction motivated by the late, vulgar Greek form of « forty », namely *σαράντα* (used, of course, in modern Greek). The correct spelling is *Σεραντάπηχος*; it seems that *σεράντα* may have been a transitional, early Byzantine form between the classical *τεσσαράκοντα* and the modern *σαράντα*. There are several examples of the « > » a shift before a liquid in Byzantine Koine (S. B. Psautes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* [Göttingen, 1913], pp. 10-13); thus *σεράντα* > *σαράντα* is quite possible. (Of course *Σέραντις-Σάραντις* is a classical example of such alteration.) One MS of Hilarion Prodomos' satire against abbots has the expression *σαραντάπηχον βλαττίν* (= a « forty-cubit » roll of textile?). The other MSS have *σαπαντάσημον βλαττίν* (ed. D. C. Hesseling and H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XI, No. 1 [Amsterdam, 1910], p. 52, l. 88). There are several other compounds with *σαράντα* attested in medieval Greek. The form *σαράκοντα* for « forty » also occurs. (Lampe, s.v.). The first shift from spooned *σαραντάπηχος* to *σεραντάπηχος* accords with other instances of « > » before ρ in both early and late Koine. See Psautes, op. cit., pp. 1-5; F. Blass - A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 11. Aufl. (Göttingen, 1961), p. 20. The sequence *τεσσαράκοντα* > *τεσσεράκοντα* > *σεράντα* > *σαράντα* thus has some feasibility. Cf. H. Moritz, *Die Zunamen bei den byzantinischen Historikern und Chronisten*, II. Teil (Landshut, 1898), pp. 45-46. However, the possibility that *σαράντα* and *σεράντα* are independent formations from *τεσσαράκοντα* and *τεσσεράκοντα*, respectively, cannot be ruled out, either.

²⁰ To compound the name with the nominative *πήχος* is, again, due to John; the adjectival form *-πηχος*, as in *Σεραντάπηχος*, is more natural (it seems to be an abbreviation of the classical *πηχναῖος* or *πήχυνος*). *Σεραντάπηχος* belongs to that well-represented class of Byzantine surnames which are compounded from a number and a substantive:

rather rare; but the original form *Σεραντάπηχος* was quite current,²¹ and John may, in the first place, have picked it quite at random. The original form was still found in that copy of the *Acta* of 787 which was taken back to Rome by the papal legates, was subsequently translated, and then used at the Paris Council of 825: At any rate, though the short form of the name itself is well attested, the attempt then to link up the fictitious figure of the magician with any historical *Σεραντάπηχος* is ill-founded. One should simply realize that the provision of minor figures in a story with more « profile », so to speak, by giving them names, is a common feature in the elaboration of oral traditions.²²

In brief, then, we are led to the following conclusions about Beser and Tessaracontapechys. Beser was a historical figure in Leo's reign, perhaps of Syrian extraction, and certainly of iconoclastic proclivities.

e.g. *Δίκωπος*, *Δισύπατος*, *Τριφύλλιος*, etc. See Moritz, op. cit., I. Teil (Landshut, 1897), p. 54. The formation *-πηχος*, though not separately attested, seems to belong to the class of adjectives of the simplest *-ος* type; most of the other representatives of this category also proper names (e.g., *ὁ Μογγός*, *ὁ Κυπτός* etc.). See Psautes, op. cit., pp. 287-88.

²¹ Besides the two examples from Theophanes, already there cited, is a passage, overlooked by both Starr and Vasiliev, which shows clearly that the name was indeed well-known in medieval Byzantium. In the *Vita* of St. Luke the Stylite (10th century), a *κandidatos* Florus is mentioned who came « not from a lowly and obscure stock » but from the family of the *Sarantapecheis*. (*Ἀνὴρ τις τῆς μεγαλοπρέπειας καὶ βασιλίδος οἰκήτωρ δεικνόμενος, Φλώρος μὲν τὴν προσήγορίαν, κανδιδάτος δὲ τὴν ἀρίαν, οὐκ ἐξ εὐτελῶν τινῶν καὶ ἀφανῶν τὸ γένος κατέγων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς καλουμένοις Σαραντάπηχεσι προσήχων* (ed. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites* [Brussels, 1923], p. 225, 21-24). Of course, it is almost certain that such a family name would have arisen from the similar nickname of an ancestor; the compound with *σαράντα* rather than *σεράντα* attests a form of the name later than the 8th-9th century in Theophanes and the original version of the *Narratio*; however, I am inclined to emend *-πηχεσι* to *-πηχοις*, to give the nominative *Σαραντάπηχοι*. The *Σαραντάπηχοι* family is well attested in the late Byzantine period. (See D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai : A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* [London, 1968], pp. 174-75.)

²² For instance, the magi of the Matthaean birth narrative are given names (Gaspar, Melchior, Balthazar) in the apocryphal elaborations of the gospel account. The Roman centurion who confessed his faith in the Savior at the foot of the cross is called Longinus in the *Acta Pilati*. Similar tendencies are already traceable in the canonical gospels. In the Marcan passion narrative, the servant of the high priest, who lost his ear in the scuffle during the arrest of Jesus, is as yet nameless (Mark 14:47). In the Johannine account, we are told that the servant's name was Malchus (John 18:10). Cf. R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, rev. edition (New York and Evanston, 1968), pp. 283, 310. See also B. M. Metzger's recent excellent article, « Names for the Nameless in the New Testament : A Study in the Growth of the Christian Tradition », *Kyrios* (Festschrift Johannes Quasten) (Münster, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 79-99.

The Jewish magician of the Leo-Yazid cycle of stories, though originally endowed with a *bona fide* Byzantine name, is only a vivid fictional embodiment of the charge that iconoclasm was Jewish in origin. Leo's ambassador in the narrative of the Kitāb al-'Uyūn may well be historical, though of course one would like to have more evidence than a single, late Arabic chronicle. However, this figure has no connection with either Beser or the Jew of the Yazid story.

APPENDIX 4

A

ARABIC AND SYRIAC ACCOUNTS OF EARLY ICONOCLASM

The eighth-century chronicle of pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Mahre, the *Chronicon ad annum* 819 (utilized by the *Chronicon ad annum* 846 and the *Chronicon ad annum* 1234) all note Yazid's iconoclastic measures, but make no mention of any Byzantine repercussions of the same. All these accounts are related, but it is not necessary to unravel here the connections, nor the relation of these, in turn, to the notices in Michael, Agapius, and the Greek chronicles.¹

The first extant oriental source which mentions Leo's iconoclastic policy is the tenth-century Arabic chronicle of the Melkite Agapius. This writer (who does not note Yazid's campaign against images), simply says:

And then Leo ordered that the images of the martyrs be obliterated from the churches and the buildings and the monasteries. When Gregory the patrician [*sic*] of Rome was informed about this, he became angered and forbade the people of Rome and Antioch [*sic*] that they should send the tax to him [*sc. Leo*].²

Agapius does not elaborate, as does Michael, on the Byzantine repercussions of Leo's iconoclastic policy. Vasiliev notes the apparent parallel of the latter part of the statement to Theophanes' *καὶ μαθὼν τοῦτο Γρηγόριος, ὁ πάπας Ῥώμης, τοὺς φόρους τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ῥώμης ἐκώλυσε*.³

¹ This task properly appertained to, but was, for the greater part, left undone by, Vasiliev's article on Yazid's edict.

² وفيها أمر لاون بقلع صور الشهداء من الكنائس والأعمار والديارات فلما بلغ غريغوريوس بطريق رومية ذلك غضب ومنع أهل رومية وانطاكية أن يودوا له الخراج

(ed. Vasiliev, p. 506). The editor's emendations of «patrician» (بطريق) to «patriarch» (بطريرك); and of «Antioch» (انطاكية) to «Italy» (انطالية) are, of course, quite justified.

³ Ed. de Boor, I, 404, 4-6.

source. However, it may have been excised by Dionysius or Ignatius in copying the account of Theophilus; the quarrel of the two Chalcedonian heretics was of less interest to the Jacobite chroniclers than to the Melkite Agapius. Michael gives, instead, the remark about the subsequent unrest in the empire.

If one compares Agapius' and Michael's other notices about Leo's persecution of the non-orthodox, derivation from a common source is obvious, and the divergences can be explained by the different ecclesiastical allegiances of Agapius on one hand, and Michael or his immediate source on the other. Agapius, a Melkite, is willing to say that Leo acted against those in his empire who were opposed to Christianity;¹³ Michael's text emphasizes that Leo was a Chalcedonian, and says that the emperor « raised up a persecution against those who were alien to his sect. »¹⁴ Agapius, in all likelihood, is closer to the common Melkite source, Theophilus of Edessa. There seems to be no evidence of direct dependence of Michael on Agapius.¹⁵

Returning to the account of Leo's iconoclasm, the common element in Agapius' and Michael's accounts — namely, Leo's campaign against images of the saints *à outrance* — is most probably taken from the eighth-century Melkite chronicler Theophilus. Michael's significant addition, that Leo acted « like the king of the Arabs », can be explained simply as his own attempt at making a connection between two distinct historical sources; Michael, by a *post hoc propter hoc* kind of reasoning, seems to have perceived a relation between Yazid's and Leo's iconoclasm; but, in his sources, the two have no such relation. One account, going back, via Ignatius, to Theophilus of Edessa, merely reports Leo's destruction of images, without drawing any parallels to kindred Muslim attitudes; the other account, probably taken from Dionysius of Tell-Mahre directly, and similar to the witness of the anonymous Syriac chronicles, mentions Yazid's edict and Leo's pro-Chalcedonian measures, but not the latter's iconoclastic campaign. In short, then, though the use of Dionysius' work by Igna-

اخذ لاون... الامم المخالفة له في ملكته المخالفة النصرانية
نال دخول (ed. Vasiliev, p. 504).

ملكه ملكه نصرانية نصرانية حلة حلة
(ed. Chabot, IV, 457, center col.).

¹³ Though Michael does not often use Arabic sources, at one point he expressly declares that he is translating from a (Muslim) Arabic text (IV, 603, [tr. III, 213]):

من حلة نصرانية نصرانية حلة حلة [sic] حلة حلة

tius of Melitene complicates matters, we arrive thus far at the following results: Michael took the story of Yazid's iconoclasm and Leo's pro-Chalcedonian campaign directly from Dionysius (ninth century), who did not mention Leo's iconoclasm. The destruction of images in Byzantium is taken, via Ignatius of Melitene (eleventh century), from Theophilus of Edessa. This last chronicle, which was also used by the Arabic Melkite writer Agapius, was known to Dionysius; but the mention of Leo's iconoclasm, though already present in Theophilus' work, was apparently not incorporated in Dionysius' history.

The remark that Leo destroyed not only saints' images, but the pictures of emperors and others as well, is peculiarly Michael's own. Perhaps Michael felt that the concluding note, already in his source, which asserted that there was a general uprising in the empire, could not be caused by such a peripheral issue; it is psychologically quite feasible that the chronicler would wrongly retroject the minor role played by images in the medieval Jacobite cultus into eighth-century Byzantium.¹⁶ So he made Leo into an iconoclast of a stricter sort, like those with whom he would have been familiar in Muslim Syria of

¹⁶ However, it would be a mistake to regard Michael himself as a convinced iconoclast; Michael's favorable attitude to Constantine V is more a result of the emperor's supposed monophysite sympathies than his stance on icons. (Hopefully, we shall be able to discuss further this point in a future work on « Constantinian » iconoclasm.) Michael reproduces, with evident approbation, a very revealing story about the upbringing of the Jacobite patriarch Athanasius (595-631). The pious, widowed mother of the saint, when she could not take her small children to the churches and shrines, resorted to the following device: « She went around to the reliquaries of the saints, and the crosses, and the images, and she rubbed them with a cloak; when she returned, she spread her cloak over the heads of the children. »

من حلة نصرانية نصرانية حلة حلة
من حلة نصرانية نصرانية حلة حلة
من حلة نصرانية نصرانية حلة حلة

(ed. Chabot, IV, 388, outer column; tr. II, 375). This manner of preserving and communicating the beneficent influence of the holy objects was effective indeed. Much later, but before he obtained the high dignity of the patriarchate, Athanasius already reached a truly astonishing pitch of sanctity. When, on occasion, at night, he was tempted by a feeling of pride, he would go, unseen, clean the latrine used by the monks, collect the undetectable contents thereof in a basket, and dump the same in the nearby Euphrates. (Michael does not say what manner of self-discipline Athanasius employed when attacked by the demon of pride in broad daylight.) The story would be quite consonant with the themes of authentic Byzantine iconophile hagiography; the only difference is that its hero is a monophysite heretic, one of those who, according to the Greek iconophile writers, denied the reality of the Incarnation and despised images.

the twelfth century. At any rate, this one late notice is manifestly mistaken; one merely has to recall that on Leo's coins the imperial portraits are prominent indeed.¹⁷

But a more crucial point is that a connection between Yazid's and Leo's iconoclasm does not appear in the Syriac and Arabic sources until Michael, and even in his chronicle it is a new element, introduced to tie together two disparate notices. It seems, then, that the Christian Arabic and Syriac sources did not have a strong tradition concerning Muslim inspiration as the cause of Byzantine iconoclasm. It should be noted that this silence cannot be explained simply by motives of prudence, as could perhaps the lack of eighth-century *written* evidence from Syria for the story of Yazid and the Jews.

The two separate accounts, connected in Michael by a secondary addition, are telescoped in Bar Hebraeus and the Armenian epitome of Michael. Indeed, the accounts in the *Chronicon syriacum* and the Armenian epitome are so similar that there is a possibility of both depending, for Yazid's reign at any rate, on a written Syriac epitome of Michael's work.¹⁸ But, more significantly, both these shortened versions of Michael's rather formless work at this point first mention Yazid's iconoclastic measures, then, immediately, Leo's direct imitation of the same, and, finally, Leo's coercive actions against non-Chalcedonians and the Jews. This scheme, if taken in isolation, could be regarded as offering valuable, though somewhat late, historical information about the spread of iconoclasm from Muslim to Byzantine lands.¹⁹ However, if properly seen as the last stage of the fusion of separate documents, the sequence can be recognized as but a literary construct of the thirteenth-century epitomators of Michael's chronicle.

In short, then, it is quite clear that, in the Syrian historical tradition, memories of Yazid's and Leo's iconoclastic measures were originally quite separate and were not linked until the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Unlike in the case of the early Byzantine

¹⁷ See, e.g., Grabar, *L'iconoclasm*, illustr. 23, 24.

¹⁸ The reasons for this suggestion are explored in detail in part B of this appendix.

¹⁹ The slight inaccuracy of placing the Jewish pogrom after the iconoclastic measures could, of course, be easily dismissed as due to the chronological vagueness that can be expected from late, non-Byzantine works. In fact, this is a sign of the uninformed editorial amalgamation which destroys the sequence still preserved in Michael's *en bloc* copying of earlier sources.

accounts, the connections of the various sources are all in the category of literary borrowing and editing; oral tradition does not seem to have played a part in the development. A stemma of the various versions is given after part B of this appendix. It must of course be noted that the stemma is based on the analysis of a small portion of the documents in question, and is subject to revision in the context of a broader examination of the material in these texts.

B

THE RELATION OF MICHAEL, THE SYRIAN, BAR HEBRAEUS, AND THE ARMENIAN EPITOME

The episodes with which we are concerned here are contained in Book XI, ch. XIX, of Michael's work.¹ The writer is apparently following three separate sources which, as we have already noted, are, in fact, written in three columns in the Syriac manuscript.² The middle column can be tentatively identified as the work of Dionysius of Tell-Mahre; it mentions Yazid's iconoclasm and Leo's coercive measures against non-Chalcedonians, but not the latter's attitude to images. The inner column, which mentions Leo's iconoclasm, is probably taken from the chronicle of Ignatius of Melitene. The outer column is only concerned with internal Jacobite Syrian church politics and the preparation for the unionist council of 726; we are not concerned with its contents or provenance since neither the *Chronicon syriacum* nor the Armenian epitome utilizes it for Yazid's reign.

A synopsis of the sequence of events in Michael will be given for purposes of comparison with Bar Hebraeus and the Armenian epitome.

¹ Ed. Chabot, IV, 456-457 (tr. II, 489-491).

² However, it is possible that two columns at this point are separate extracts from the work of Dionysius of Tell-Mahre. The source analysis of Michael is often hampered by the fact that the documents he uses are entirely lost. But it seems to be quite certain that he is using at least two separate sources at this point.

Inner Column	Center Column	Outer Column
(Ignatius of Melitene?)	(Dionysius of Tell-Mahre?)	
1031 plague of locusts	1034 'Umar's death and Yazid's accession	
Severus the false Messiah	1034 Revolt of the emir Yazid of Iraq	internal Syrian ecclesiastical affairs
1032 drought	1035? The caliph Yazid's iconoclasm	
1036 bubonic plague	Muslim capture of Šiza in Cilicia	
Leo's iconoclasm	1036 Leo's coercive measures against non-Chalcedonians	
	1037 Yazid dies	

(all years according to the Seleucid era)

Bar Hebraeus in the *Chronicon syriacum*³ and the Armenian version⁴ (*Arm*) give an account of the same events, based primarily on

³ Ed. Bedjan, p. 118.

⁴ Ed. Jerusalem, 1871, pp. 337-338. It should be noted that V. Langlois' translation (*Chronique de Michel le Grand* [Venice, 1868]) at this point is either based on a different text, or is guilty of gross infidelity to the Armenian. Langlois' version omits the account of the emir Yazid's rebellion, which stands in both the Syriac original and the printed Armenian text. Langlois' translation further says that the caliph «fit effacer la représentation de la figure humaine» and that «Léon... imita cet exemple en proscrivant les figures humaines dans son empire» (p. 253). The printed Armenian text makes

Michael. Both Bar Hebraeus and *Arm* here ignore the material in the outer column, and both follow the basic scheme of the center column.⁵ Both insert, at the same place (between Yazid's iconoclasm and Leo's campaign against non-conformists) the same emperor's iconoclastic measures, and both unite in omitting the mention here of the capture of Šiza. In their account of Leo's forcible conversion of the Jews, both omit Michael's observation that the baptized Jews were called «new citizens».⁶ But there are also some divergences between Bar Hebraeus and *Arm*. The Syriac author places the episode of Severus after his notice on Yazid's and Leo's iconoclastic measures, whereas *Arm* makes it come before Yazid's accession.⁷ *Arm* puts the capture of Šiza in Hišām's reign, and brackets it together with the Muslim conquest of Neocasarea. Bar Hebraeus has no mention of Šiza at all, though he does register the destruction of Neocaesarea. However, the coincidences seem to indicate, in spite of these divergences, that both Bar Hebraeus and *Arm* are using an already available scheme where the various columns of Michael have been amalgamated into a continuous narrative. It is unlikely that such a Michael *retractatus* would have been the work of the author himself. There is no mention of such a shorter version in medieval catalogues of his works; the chronological inaccuracies, as compared with the *chronicon tripartitum*,

Yazid order the destruction of images (*իղիմ առաքեաց ... ջնջել զպատկերս*). *Patker* has the meaning of «image» or «representation» in general, and is not restricted to «la figure humaine». The Armenian text continues that «thus also Leo destroyed [the images] in the churches of the Romans» (*Այնպէս և լեւոն ջնջեաց յեկեղեցեաց Հռոմացւոց*). No explicit mention is made of «la représentation de la figure humaine». Thus, either Langlois is drawing on a version which considerably diverges from the printed text, or — as is more likely — he gives a spirited paraphrase of the text before him. For the testimony of the native Armenian chronicles on Yazid's iconoclasm, see Appendix 1A.

⁵ *Arm* does give an account of the ecclesiastical negotiations after its notice on Hišām's reign; Bar Hebraeus uses this material in the *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*. We are not proposing that these writers depend only on the Syriac epitome, and not at all on the original text.

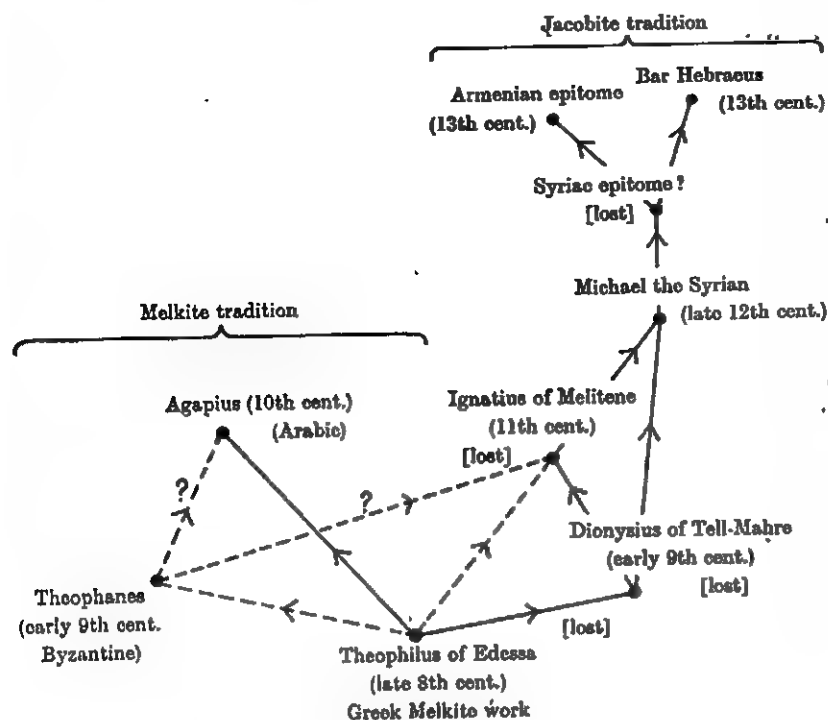
⁶ The omission, however, may merely indicate that this is a late, post-thirteenth century gloss, not part of Michael's original work. (The one extant MS, from which all the modern copies have been made, is dated A.D. 1598.)

⁷ Here Michael and Bar Hebraeus agree with Agapius who puts the messianic pretender from Mardin during Yazid's reign (ed. Vasiliev, p. 504). Theophanes also mentions the Syrian *ψευδοχριστος*, after Yazid's accession, but before Leo's persecution of the Jews (I, 401, 19-20). The Armenian epitome is manifestly in the wrong here; but Bar Hebraeus also errs in not putting Severus before Leo's iconoclastic measures.

in this hypothetical Syriac epitome also make Michael's authorship improbable. Thus, according to our reasoning, the important step of inserting the notice of Leo's iconoclasm immediately after Yazid's, with the express rider (already found in Michael) that Leo imitated Yazid, is the work of this thirteenth-century anonymous Syriac epitomator, on whom both Bar Hebraeus and the Armenian translator drew.

It is difficult to give further verification for this hypothesis of a Syriac epitome by pointing to verbal parallels between Bar Hebraeus and *Arm*; any similarities of phraseology can, of course, be merely attributed to the common dependence on Michael. Moreover, the Armenian translator omits many place-names and patronymics which are of no interest to him. For instance, whereas Bar Hebraeus, follow-

Arabic and Syriac Accounts of Yazid's and Leo's Iconoclasm



For significance of full and broken lines, see p. 137.

ing Michael, notes that the rebel emir Yazid was the son of Muhalab,⁹ the Armenian epitome merely calls him «a certain man from Her [Hirta].»¹⁰ Lacunae in *Arm*, compared to Bar Hebraeus, do not necessarily imply a different source, but may merely be a result of a further abbreviation of the same Syriac epitome.¹⁰

⁹ *al-Bihar* is ed. Bodjan, 118, 5.

¹⁰ *wpn up h 2hr* ed. Jerusalem, p. 337.

¹⁰ F. Haase, in his study of the Armenian epitome, analyzes the first part of this chronicle, but does not discuss the section that interests us here. («Die armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michaels des Grossen», OC [n.s.] 5 [1915], pp. 60 ff, 271 ff).

AN ANONYMOUS IAMBIC POEM ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΝ

In *Paris. suppl. gr.* 690 (saec. XII) there is extant a short iambic poem in praise of the cross.¹ Unlike the iconoclastic verses preserved by Theodore, this poem does not set the cross in opposition to images; therefore, in view of the orthodox veneration of the *τίμος σταυρός*, it could, of course, be of iconophile provenance.

Sternbach, with no apparent justification, attributes the poem to the patriarch Methodius, and identifies the « Michael » of line 4 with the emperor Michael III.² Silvio Mercati rightly rejects this identification, and cautiously opts, on the basis of an ideological affinity with a passage from the *ad Ludovicum*,³ for a ninth-century dating, and for *Μιχαήλ* as the iconoclastic emperor Michael the Amorian. The similarity in wording is, indeed, quite real between Michael's letter to Louis and this poem.⁴ However, the theme and wording are both commonplace in Byzantine religious poetry; this parallel alone does not provide a sure identification.

The donor *Μιχαήλ* is not characterized as *βασιλεύς* or *ἄναξ*; to my mind, therefore, it is not at all certain that the individual has to be identified with one of the emperors who bore this name. There are plentiful examples from inscriptions where the prefect of the city

¹ The epigram is most readily accessible in S. Mercati's annotated edition (« Note d'epigrafi bizantina », *Bessarione* 24 [1920], pp. 195-199). For ease of reference, the text is reproduced here. *Εἰς τὸν σταυρὸν. [Τὸ ζωνοποιὸν καὶ σεβάσμιον ξύλον, ἐν ᾧ πέποιθε σαρκικῶς ὁ δεσπότης,] πᾶσι πρόκειται πρᾶσκυνητόν, ὡς θέμις, [χρυσόστολισθὲν Μιχαὴλ θεῖοις πόνοις,] φρουρὸν κραταῖον ἐν βίῳ κεκτημένον.* (ed. Mercati, p. 199). The fact that all five lines are paroxytone points perhaps to a date later than the seventh century (cf. p. 172).

² *Eos* 4 (1897), p. 156.

³ Mercati, *art. cit.*, p. 196, note 6.

⁴ The text runs thus: « Primum quidem honorificas et vividas cruces de sacris templis expellebant et in eadem loca imagines statuebant... atque eas in tali honore habebant sicut honorificum et vivificum lignum, in quo Christus, verus Deus noster, crucifigi dignatus est propter nostram salutem. » (MGH *Legum Sectio III, Concilia II, Pars II*, p. 478, 38-42.)

or some other highly-placed official commemorates his foundations or restoratory works without a mention of his rank;⁵ there seems to be no reason against supposing that this *Μιχαήλ* is some iconoclastic or iconophile dignitary — that famous lieutenant of Constantine V, the *strategos* Michael Lachanodracon, perhaps? But, again, as was the case with the iconoclastic poets John and Ignatius, such extremely common names are of little use in identification.

In fact, there is no certainty even that the poem is as late as the iconoclastic period. However, all five lines are paroxytone, a feature which characterizes late Byzantine poetry;⁶ it seems to be most likely that, therefore, the poem is, at the earliest, from the eighth century. However, the *ante quem* is only the date of the manuscript. Mercati pointed out the very real ideological affinities of the poem with the *ad Ludovicum*; the resemblances to some of the iconoclastic poems preserved by Theodore are also noteworthy. The *rapprochement* with Stephen's poem⁷ is especially striking. The simple identification of the True Cross with effigies thereof, which we have noted in Stephen's work, apparently also occurs in this anonymous poem.⁸ The emphasis on the lawfulness of depicting the cross appears in both, though, of course, with the added pendant of the unlawfulness of images in Stephen's iconoclastic poem. There also seem to be some purely stylistic similarities with the iconoclastic iambics.⁹

In short, there is a possibility that the poem is indeed a product

⁵ See, e.g., R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, ed. 2 (Paris, 1964), p. 280, for one Greek and one Latin inscription of this type. *Θείοις πόνοις* I am inclined to translate as simply « with reverential care »; the qualifier is not necessarily a reflection of « imperial » phraseology.

⁶ See above, p. 172.

⁷ PG 99, 437B.

⁸ Cf. lines 1-2, with Stephen's *ὁ προστάγας ἔσωσας, αὐτὸ καὶ σῆθεν*. There is, however, a possibility that the epigram in fact appertains to a relic of the True Cross; one should recall that, at the time of the siege of Constantinople by Thomas the Slav, in 822, the emperor Michael had this relic, together with the Virgin's robe, paraded around the city walls (see Frolov, *Vraie Croix*, p. 216). Of course if indeed such a dominical relic is in question, then the philosophical problem of equating image and prototype disappears, and the Michael of the poem is, in all likelihood, the emperor. But both Stephen's poem and the *ad Ludovicum* show that the distinction was blurred between the True Cross and images thereof. On the whole, it seems most likely that the *σεβάσμιον ξύλον* here is, indeed, just a *cruz gemmata*.

⁹ Cf. *φρουρὸν κραταῖον* (line 5) with *πνεῦμα κραταῖον* (line 3 of Sergius' poem, PG 99, 437A); cf. *ἐν βίῳ* (line 5) with line 4 of the same poem of Sergius.

of iconoclastic piety, but no certain proof can be provided. In particular, the question of whether the poem was written in the eighth or in the ninth century (or later) cannot be answered with any assurance. There was no need for the poet to introduce the christological dialectic of «Constantinian» iconoclasm, even if it was familiar to him; unlike in the case of the iconoclastic iambics, the image of Christ does not here come into question. This short poem illustrates very well the basic identity of the iconoclastic and orthodox cult of the cross, a constant feature in Byzantine theology from the very beginning. However, in view of the uncertainty of the date and provenance of the poem, it is of little use in elucidating the problems of the iconoclastic iambics.

B

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CHALCE IMAGE

The sources indicate that Leo did show himself to be an iconoclast already in 726; however, a full-scale iconoclastic campaign and persecution of the image-worshippers did not start until 730.¹ The destruction of the image of the Chalce gate was a major episode in the opening phase of the iconoclastic struggle. The place of this event in the sequence of the early iconoclastic measures, as well as the role played therein by the emperor, the patriarch Germanus, and his successor Anastasius are of significance, and will be discussed here in some detail.

The *Vita Stephani*, written slightly earlier than Theophanes' chronicle, places the destruction of the image after Anastasius' accession and as having been perpetrated with the new patriarch's express collaboration.² The *Vita*, however, does not indicate that Anastasius succeeded Germanus in 730; it may well be that the hagiographer thought of this event as already having occurred in 726.³ At any rate, the narrative, with its emphasis on Anastasius' role quite obviously

¹ See pp. 94-97.

² PG 100, 1088CD.

³ The *Liber Pontificalis* likewise seems to foreshorten the sequence of events from 726 to 730: the destruction of the images, Germanus' deposition, the accession of Anastasius, are indicated as following immediately one after the other (ed. Duchesne, p. 408).

wants to make the saintly Germanus innocent of any complicity in the affair; the easiest way to accomplish this was by indicating his prior removal from the scene.⁴ The *Vita* introduces a spatharius as Leo's emissary, and makes certain «pious women» the ring-leaders of the riot, but does not give their names.

Theophanes recounts briefly the destruction of the Christ image of the Chalce, the lynching of the imperial emissaries, and the subsequent reprisals. The event is definitely placed in 726, during Germanus' patriarchate.⁵ The participation of Beser in this particular incident is not asserted by Theophanes, although he does note just prior to it that Beser was Leo's helper in his impiety.⁶ The *Acta Martyrum Constantinopolitanorum*,⁷ a late ninth-century composition, reworks Theophanes' narrative, with dependence also on material from the *Vita Stephani*. This *passio* supplies the martyrs' names, and attributes set speeches to the various protagonists. Beser appears on the scene of the crime, transparently on the strength of Theophanes' characterization of him as Leo's σύμμαχος.⁸ However, apparently under the influence of the *Vita Stephani*, the whole episode is placed after Anastasius' accession.⁹ There are other recensions of the story in the synaxaria. One short version does not mention Anastasius at all;¹⁰ the «Theodosia» recension does make the martyr upbraid the heretical patriarch.¹¹ However, none of these late literary reworkings of the earlier material have any value for establishing the chronology of events;¹² it seems that Theophanes' account, which preserves the implication at least of the saintly Germanus' less than heroic acquiescence,¹³ and which does provide a good explanation for the Helladic

⁴ Andreev actually supposes that the hagiographer substituted Anastasius for the cowardly Germanus in the story. BV 1897 (June), p. 315. However, Andreev gives too much confidence to the narrative details in the *Vita*.

⁵ I, 405, 5 ff.

⁶ I, 405, 2-3.

⁷ AA SS Aug. II, 428-43.

⁸ παρόντος καὶ τοῦ θεομάρτυρος Βεσέρ (441C).

⁹ 441BC.

¹⁰ *Menologium Basilii*, PG 117, 580; *Synax. CP*, 877-880.

¹¹ *Menologium Basilii*, PG 117, 548D-549B; *Synax. CP*, p. 828. See Loparev in VV 17 (1910), pp. 52-55.

¹² J. Gouillard shows that the destruction of the Chalcostrateia image in the «first letter of Gregory to Leo» is of ninth-century provenance, dependent on the *Vita Stephani*, and replete with «epic» embroidery (TM 3 [1968], pp. 267-270).

¹³ Cf. p. 89.

uprising,¹⁴ is to be preferred over the tendentious version in the *Vita Stephani*.¹⁵

Georgius Hamartolus gives an interesting version of these events.¹⁶ Closely depending on Theophanes for the account of Germanus' deposition, he makes only a very brief mention of the destruction of the Chalce image, even shorter than the account in Theophanes, but retains it before the *silence* of 730.¹⁷ The story of the burning of the patriarchal academy appears in place of the longer account of the destruction of the image which one would have expected. I think that Georgius perceived the awkwardness of dwelling too much on the fact that Germanus did not lead heroically the rioters of 726 on the barricades, so to speak, but was unceremoniously cashiered by the emperor years later. However, Georgius did not feel free to doctor Theophanes' chronology, and, instead, reduced the Chalce incident to almost vanishing proportions. To compensate for this lacuna, Georgius chose to present, on the strength of Theophanes' brief mention that Leo suppressed institutions of learning,¹⁸ and on the basis of oral reports (*Φασι δέ τινες*) the emperor's burning of the *διδασκαλείον*, with its entire faculty and student body.¹⁹

Finally, a passage from the Metaphrastic version of the *Vita Stephani* calls for some comment here. The original text of the *Vita* presents

¹⁴ See above, p. 94.

¹⁵ The quite non-committal discussion of this material by Mango (*Brazen House*, Appendix I, pp. 170-74) is inclined to give some credence to the 730 date. Mango is correct in pointing out that, according to Nicephorus, the persecutions did only start after Anastasius' accession (*op. cit.*, p. 174). However, it is not certain that Nicephorus wants to place Germanus' resignation as late as 730 (see above, p. 000), and, of course, he does mention the imperial anti-image propaganda, the deep chagrin of the image-worshippers, and the provincial revolts, immediately after the volcanic eruptions of 726. Mango rightly rejects (*op. cit.*, pp. 108-109) the late and legendary account of the removal of a brazen statue (*στήλη χαλκή*) given in the *Patria* of pseudo-Codinus (ed. Preger, 219-220); the notice obviously confuses the Chalce icon with the Panaceas statue, a *pièce de résistance* in iconophile apologetics.

¹⁶ Ed. de Boor, II, 743 ff.

¹⁷ II, 743, 2-6 ... *καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Χαλκῆς πύλης τοῦ παλατίου εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατεῖλε καὶ αἰένιον ἀσεβείας κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων ποιήσας προσκαλεῖται πάλιν τὸν τίμιον Γερμανὸν οἰόμενος πείθειν αὐτὸν ὑπογράψαι κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκόνων.*

¹⁸ *τὰ παιδευτήρια ἀφαιρῶν* ... (I, 405, 11).

¹⁹ The purely legendary nature of this story is generally admitted. See Ostrogorsky, *Les débuts*, p. 241, n. 2; Bréhier, *La civilisation*, pp. 462-64; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, ed. 2 (Paris, 1964), p. 160, and especially the excellent discussion in P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), pp. 89-94.

Leo as somewhat taken aback by the vehemently negative response to one of his iconoclastic speeches and, accordingly, thereupon turning to some other, presumably less controversial, topic.²⁰ The tenth-century reworking of the text by Symeon Metaphrastes more explicitly says that Leo attempted to soothe tempers by claiming that he only proposed to raise the images higher.²¹ In both versions, this episode takes place prior to Germanus' deposition and the destruction of the Chalce image.

There is no need to rehearse here at length the «yea's» and «nay's» of various scholars, from Baronius onward, concerning the historical credibility of this added detail.²² Until Gill's publication of the relevant extract, opinions have been formed solely on the basis of a Latin translation.²³ One would have to undertake a detailed comparison of the original and Metaphrastic texts, in their entirety, and thus

²⁰ Τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ ὀρθοδόξου λαοῦ θορυβηθέντος ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ καὶ στενάζαντος, ὁ ἀλιτῆριος παρευθὺ τὸ ἐξῆς ἐσιώπησε, καὶ πρὸς ἑτερογνωμίαν τὸν λόγον μετήγαγεν. (PG 100, 1084C).

²¹ Εὐθὺς οὖν θροῦς ἄφατος ἤρθη παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ... «μὴ πεντελὴ τὴν καθαίρεσιν», λέγων, «κατεψηφισμένη αὐτῶν — μὴ τοῦτο εἶη —, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο δήπου φημί, τὸ μετεωρότερον ταύτας ἵσταν, ὥστε μὴ τῷ στόματι θύειν αἰτῶν καὶ οὕτω τρόπον τινα τὰ τίμια καθυβρίζεσθαι» (Val. gr. 806, ed. J. Gill, «A Note on the Life of St. Stephen the Younger, by Symeon Metaphrastes», BZ 39 [1939], p. 384).

²² See L. Bréhier, «Sur un texte relatif au début de la querelle iconoclaste», EO 37 (1938), pp. 18-20; J. Gill, *art. cit.*, pp. 384-85.

²³ The *editio princeps* of Billius is conveniently reprinted in L. Surius, *De Probatis Sandorum Vitis* (Cologne, 1618), vol. IV, pp. 638-49. Bréhier repeatedly refers to this edition as «le texte latin», in contrast to «la rédaction grecque» (*art. cit.*, p. 17). In fact, the prefatory remarks make it quite clear that Billius, a sixteenth-century French Benedictine scholar, and editor of some of John of Damascus' works, in fact translated a Greek text («... a me de Gracco in Latinum conversam, ac nunc primum editam subneoterem...»); the codex was «desumpta ex Reginae matris bibliotheca», i.e., the Medicean library. A simple comparison of the *incipit* and *desinit* of Billius' text with those of the Metaphrastic revision (BHG 1667) would have made it immediately obvious that Billius translated this late Greek version; Bréhier gives the impression that «le texte latin» is an ancient version of the original *Vita Stephani*, in textual value comparable to the translations of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. In the Bibliothèque Nationale alone, there are at least fifteen catalogued manuscripts of the Metaphrastic version. (*Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Omont et al. [*Subsidia Hagiographica* 5], [Paris and Bruxelles, 1896], p. 365.) I think Billius' version may have, in fact, been made from Cod. 1178 («Olim Medicus, postea Regius 1894», *op. cit.*, p. 77). Symeon most probably lived in the tenth century (Beck, KTL, p. 571); hence, he was removed from the events in question by about two hundred years.

evaluate the exact nature of the redactorial changes; of course, the edition of the whole Metaphrastic text is the necessary prerequisite for this. It is well known that there is no corroborating evidence whatsoever for Leo III having undertaken such a particular temporizing measure; to argue, as Bréhier does,²⁴ that the raising of images would, in fact, be consistent with Leo's moderate policy before 730, is not at all cogent; Symeon may have thought the same thing, and, like Thucydides, put the appropriate speech in the emperor's mouth.²⁵ Comparing the original *Vita Stephani* with the available Latin translation of Billius, I cannot detect on Symeon's part the consistent employment of additional sources. As far as the first mention of Leo is concerned, the Metaphrastic version assimilates the text further to the vulgate tradition of the chroniclers. As we have seen, the early ninth-century version still preserves the significant mention of *Συπογενής*²⁶ the revised version does not, to be sure, replace it by *ὁ Ἰσαυρος*, but does omit the epithet, retaining only the vague mention of Leo's « eastern » origin²⁷ — this, alone, of course, is consistent with either *Συπογενής* or *Ἰσαυρος*. Among other details, Symeon also omits the rather gauche characterization of Leo as a Balthazar *redivivus*.²⁸ I think that the addition of the passage in question is, in fact, a purely redactorial change. The abruptness introduced by Leo's turning to some unnamed topic is thereby obviated;

²⁴ *Art. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

²⁵ I think Gill, *art. cit.*, pp. 382-83, overemphasizes Symeon's faithfulness to the original text. The introductory portion, in particular, is drastically reworked in the Metaphrastic version.

²⁶ See above, p. 2.

²⁷ Only Billius' Latin version is available to me here: it has « ab Orientalibus partibus proficiscitur » (Surius, *op. cit.*, p. 634); in all likelihood, this reproduces the original *ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἐξῆς μερῶν* (PG 100, 1084B).

²⁸ Cf. above, ch. IX, n. 72. Symeon also seems to have been more conscious than earlier hagiographers and chroniclers of the « positive » implications of « λέων »; he emphasizes that Leo did not use a « leonine autonomy » but, rather, the lowly subterfuges of a chameleon. (*οὐχὶ λέωντος ἐλευθερίαν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς κατὰ τοὺς χαμαιλέοντας μᾶλλον τὰς μορφὰς ἐξαλλάττων* [ed. Gill, p. 384]). Symeon also introduces the nice classical touch that Leo changed his tactics, « straightway turning the ring of Gyges » (*εὐθὺς τὸν τοῦ Γύγου δακτύλιον στρέφων*). This metaphor is a decided improvement over the shrill accusations of « Manichee » and « Aphthartodocetist » in the original text, both of which epithets Symeon omits. However, one could hardly claim that these changes, of a quasi-stylistic sort, imply that Symeon had « inside information » about Leo's theological views.

the displacement of the Chalce episode into Anastasius' patriarchate is also thus made more consequent. There is no need to assume that Symeon would have needed the authority of some written or oral source²⁹ to make this slight addition which, with some justice, can be seen as filling a gap in the narrative. The addition is interesting, and introduces a new angle, so to speak; but, for this very reason, it seems that historians have paid too much attention to it. The sources are scanty for iconoclasm in the 720's, but Symeon's revision of a ninth-century source unfortunately does not provide an augmentation of the dossier.

²⁹ Cf. Gill, *art. cit.*, p. 386. Of course, it is quite possible that a tenth-century composition would incorporate valuable earlier written sources (this is the case with the *Patria* of pseudo-Codinus); but the faithful oral transmission, for two hundred years, of an authentic detail not registered in any of the saints' lives or the chronicles is most unlikely.

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n. = note; e. = emperor; p. = patriarch; b. = bishop.

N.B.: Though many of the references to the less well-known oriental and Byzantine sources are listed here, this is not a complete *index locorum* for the major Byzantine chronicles (Theophanes, Nicephorus, Georgius Hamartolus, Cedrenus, Zonaras etc.). See *Abbreviations* (pp. viii ff) for a fuller identification of the sources utilized.

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